

# The World Tomorrow

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FEBRUARY, 1931

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A GLANCE

at **TURKEY,**

**ARMENIA,**

and **EGYPT**

DONALD C. BLAISDELL



Suppressing a  
"Sensational Story"

WILLIAM PICKENS

A Statesman Can Be a Prophet

*The Story of Bishop McConnell*

Big Business and a Cooperative Society

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN

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## The World Tomorrow

VOL. XIV

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## Appearing Soon

What Will the Church Do With Jesus?

Ernest F. Tittle

The Minnesota Farmer Labor Party

Howard Y. Williams

Education in Action—*The Story of John Dewey*

Unsnarling Our Race Prejudices

Reginald Bell

Socialism As It Is Practiced in Milwaukee

B. Charney Vladeck



# The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIV

February, 1931

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## Editorials

### A Note for Historians

The daily grist of stories in the newspapers makes a crazy pattern. One has to see them against a broad background in order to put them together and construct a social history of our contemporary world. But just at present they fit in as parts of a general pattern rather more obviously than usual. Consider a few of the generally recorded incidents during the holiday period:

Farmers near England, Arkansas, to the number of 500 appeared in the town armed with shotguns, and demanded food for their families. They were given \$2.75 worth of food per family.

The Bank of the United States in New York closed its doors and its failure has resulted in the withdrawal of savings accounts in many other banks. Banking circles are nervous and jumpy and attribute the frequent runs of depositors to communist propaganda.

The famed oil millionaire, Doherty, of New York, gave his stepdaughter a "coming out" party in Washington the cost of which was variously estimated from a quarter of a million to a million dollars.

The automobile show opened in New York, and a crowd of 25,000 people stormed its gates the first day to view the new models. Some of the cars are priced at \$12,000.

Henry Ford, after keeping his men on two and three day week schedules for several months, gave them a Christmas present of a three weeks' layoff over the holidays. At the close of the year hardly a wheel turned in the automobile capital of America. The papers carried a picture of Mr. Edsel Ford on his new yacht.

Possibly the social historian of the future will put these and similar stories together and arrive at a generalization something like this:

The year 1930 marked the end of an era in the history of the United States. Once prosperous farmers were reduced to penury by the unwillingness of the dominant commercial groups of the country to admit them into the charmed circle of American prosperity. The poverty of the farmers was a contributing factor to the debacle in which the whole economic structure of the country came toppling to the ground. A nation

which had given so little thought to fundamental social and political issues was naturally unprepared to meet the crisis created by the stock market collapse of 1929. The rich continued in their profligate expenditures and resisted every effort to meet the needs of the poor through adequate taxation. The man, who more than any other was known to the world as a symbol of America's enlightened capitalism, threw his laborers upon the mercy of charitable institutions to which he made no contributions on the theory that justice is better than mercy. The government was chiefly concerned with the project of bolstering the morale of the people by optimistic statements, its theory being that the depression was largely psychological. It was during the year 1930 that every pretension by which American capitalism had maintained its power was reduced to an absurdity, and every hypocrisy achieved such monstrous proportions that it ceased to create the illusions it desired.

### The Pope's Encyclical

There is nothing in the Pope's encyclical on family life which is really new. Its positions simply reiterate or follow logically from policies and doctrines previously announced. The publication of the encyclical, therefore, only serves the purpose of proclaiming to the world the unbending attitude of the Roman Catholic Church on moral questions. It is not surprising that it should be received with amazement by all who are trying to deal realistically with the problems of family life. For the church to proclaim theological dogma in conflict with the indisputable facts of pure science is one thing; but it is a far more serious matter to announce moral dogma that runs counter to the facts of experience. Even if one does not share the positions of extreme modernity and believes that the stability of family life is a treasure worth preserving, one must regard the Pope's encyclical as a tragic effort to preserve by fiat what is not capable of preservation by the authority of contemporary experience. If marriage is a sacrament, it is so not by law but in moral achievement, and those who lack the grace to make the marriage relationship sacramental will not be helped



by papal edict. The position of the church on birth control is recognized by every social worker as a dangerous anti-social force against which those who try to help the poor out of their misery must contend, frequently in vain. The present encyclical will make the reactionary tendencies of the church in this matter more ominous than ever. Incidentally, it is rather ludicrous for a celibate priest to insist that birth control is a violation of the laws of God and nature. Even the traditional conception of the family as a male autocracy is upheld in the encyclical, and the family mores of South European peoples are thereby made religiously binding for all mankind. That proves how dangerous authoritarian religion may become. But perhaps the women will be satisfied with the sop which His Holiness has thrown them. He has assured them that if they are not the head, they are the heart of the family. We hope that means something but we are not quite sure just what.

## The R.O.T.C. Under Fire

On December 9th, the Board of Trustees of the University of Cincinnati resolved,

"Whereas, since the time when such military courses were established in this University and in many other universities in this country, many of said universities have abandoned the requirement that such military instruction be compulsory, and the United States Government itself has ruled that such compulsory military study is not required in the land grant colleges of the several states; and,

"Whereas, compulsory courses are being abandoned in American universities in favor of the elective system, as a matter of educational policy; and,

"Whereas, in the opinion of this Board no question of military preparedness or national defense is involved, such matters being within the peculiar province of the Federal Government. . . ."

and therefore drill will be optional at that institution, beginning September, 1931.

On the same day the House Committee on Appropriations handling the War Department Bill for 1932, heard Tucker P. Smith, a secretary of the Committee on Militarism in Education, testify against the military appropriations for the R.O.T.C. This is the first time a civilian has appeared before this Committee to speak in favor of military reductions for some years. The chairman remarked that it was a unique experience for the Committee to be asked for anything but larger and larger sums, and the members were accordingly interested in hearing the case against drill made by the witness. They kept him for three-quarters of an hour answering questions on what educators and the public think of military training in schools and colleges.

The following week three bills were introduced in the House (H.R. 14058, 15275, 15432) and one bill in the Senate (S. 5447) withdrawing War Department support from all training in secondary schools or

from all compulsory military courses. As we go to press, there is strong prospect of a lively fight on the R.O.T.C. appropriation in both the House and the Senate.

The Intercollegiate Student Council of the League for Industrial Democracy is collecting student signatures to a nation-wide petition in support of the above Congressional measures. In Iowa the hottest campaign is under way with bills pending in both houses of the Legislature. Organized labor, the Parent Teachers' Association, as well as religious and civic groups are everywhere joining in the protest, and it would seem that only inertia in favor of the status quo could prevent the passage of legislation abolishing compulsory military drill.

With the agricultural problem rapidly destroying the very foundations of our American rural life, it seems worse than futile to have farmers' sons spending their time learning squads right, the nomenclature of the rifle, or military polo in the blind hope of thereby "defending their homes and their ideals." And while unemployment continues to decimate our industrial life, ambitious young engineers are being taught to handle military gases, to figure artillery trajectories, and to lay floating bridges over imaginary streams. By way of contrast Nero's fiddling would seem to be practical and constructive.

Fortunately, growing numbers of college men are beginning to see it that way. They are demanding the privilege of studying peaceful methods of doing the world's work as alternatives to military science. At Columbia and Oberlin courses in peace have been introduced and these will undoubtedly be followed by others. They can not begin too soon if colleges are going to prepare youth to serve the country in international crises.

## Toy Soldiers and Real Wars

Despite a number of campaigns against the use of military toys, the stores continue to sell them in large quantities. You can get everything you want, from tanks to submarines, to tickle Junior's imagination and give him a killer's thrill. And when pacifists protest against this parental practice, they are met by the bored answer that no harm can come of it, that nothing ever yet worked out in a steam-heated laboratory on the twelfth floor of a remote skyscraper in the wilderness of an American university has yet proved that these childhood stimuli induce a desire to emulate Napoleon's march on Moscow.

Be that as it may, new schools or none, psychology and pathology laid aside, every man jack of us knows that at one time or another the idea seeped into his mind that war was a normal and praiseworthy adventure, and that war toys had some small share in the direction of his mind. Recently, however, we have con-



ete testimony from one of the world's leading war-makers—Mr. Winston Churchill, a Right Honorable M.P., late of the War Cabinet, a man who says in his new book, *My Early Life*, "I have always been against the pacifists during a quarrel, and against the jingoes at its close." The world has well known all that. But I have not known, till now, of the boyhood influences that helped Mr. Churchill to this noble view of life. As a child, he says, he had nearly 1,500 toy soldiers, all of one size, all British. . . . They turned the current of my life."

## A Church Goes Pacifist

Members of the Central Christian Church of Van Nuys, California, in annual meeting assembled, went on record in unqualified terms as excommunicating war. The statement adopted on this occasion, a copy of which was forwarded to President Hoover, included the following bold words: "We hereby go on record, in case of any future war in which this country might be engaged, that this congregation will refuse to sanction such a war, or to have a part in it, for we dare not give the name of Christ to that kind of bitter struggle which grows more horrid with each conflict, and likewise more ineffective to promote the welfare of mankind."

If this example should be followed by thousands of local congregations across the country, a substantial impression upon public opinion would be made. Surely the time has come for the Christian church to disentangle itself from the war system.

## Dr. Dewey and the Insurgents

Dr. Dewey's letter to Senator Norris inviting him to leave the Republican fold and help build a new party based on the principle of "social planning and control" has advanced the cause of a new political alignment. It has brought the League for Independent Political Action before the public, stimulated discussion of a third party, and, incidentally, placed another hair shirt in the President's well-stocked wardrobe. The letter has also put the insurgent Senators on record as favoring a continuation of their policy of guerilla warfare within the old parties. And that fact is important to those who have the cause of a new party at heart. Useful as these rebels have been, they cannot be counted on to pioneer; instead, they will continue their hopeless task of trying to "purify" the Republican organization until a new party has something more tangible to offer than "the thrill and enthusiasm of a great movement."

Senator Norris is, in some respects, an exception. He can hardly be accused of lacking the courage of his rebellions. A dry by conviction and representing a

Protestant, Middle-Western constituency, his campaigning for Al Smith in 1928 reflected supreme political courage. What holds Senator Norris back is not timidity, but rather a deeply grained individualism which fears party organization even when directed toward a noble end. "What we need," he replies, "is a Constitutional amendment that will enable the voters to get control of the parties any time they are minded to. We should repeal that part of the Constitution providing for the Electoral College so that it would be possible for a man to run as an independent candidate for President." This is a typical example of old-fashioned American individualism with its unbounded faith in simple good will. It is the same faith that some years back encouraged a millenium through the direct primaries. Certainly our experience with the direct primary has taught us that unorganized good will is no match for the party machines under any system of elections. Forward-looking men and women who wish to transform society through politics must make themselves part of an all-year-around organization, a political party with responsible leaders, and a disciplined membership centered upon a vital political philosophy.

Just such a goal has been set by the League for Independent Political Action. It is concentrating on the task of organizing its membership into cohesive,



The Little Bungalow in the West  
Cartoon by H. S. Barbour. Used by permission of the Outlook



workable units whose job it will be to carry on an educational program looking toward political action. In ten Western states during the coming year it will hold state conferences of farm, trade union, Socialist, and progressive groups for the purpose of organizing state committees and eventually state parties. This is the slow and patient work indispensable for a Progressive party which expects to live long enough to carry out a thorough-going program of social reconstruction, a program that will secure for workers of brain and hand social insurance, public ownership of public utilities, reduction of the tariff, abolition of the unjust use of the injunction in labor disputes, a social use of taxation, and a more vigorous, realistic approach to disarmament and world peace.

### Mussolini's "Education"

Italian children are now to be "educated" in a vastly more appropriate manner than they have been hitherto. The textbooks of the country have been antiquated, so the government thought, and a campaign was inaugurated to bring them up to date. That a startling success in this endeavor has been achieved nobody will deny.

The *Libri del Stato* are everywhere widely distributed. They are beautifully printed volumes. They "exhale an atmosphere of cheerfulness and martial vigor"—as one *very* cheerful correspondent puts it—and are "wholly free from the rather mawkish and morbid sentimentality which marked the schoolbooks of a past generation."

We owe our information to a number of correspondents and visitors, but are at pains to rely chiefly on the above writer for the London *Times*. Here is a reporter of the most sympathetic vintage. All reports agree, however, in the essentials. The texts are embellished outside and in with illustrations of the fascist emblem and Il Duce. The boys are all dressed as "balillas" and the girls as "piccole Italians." They are assumed to take great joy in superpatriotic ceremonial and to look forward to joining or aiding the fascist troops. "God protects the Duce"; "Il Duce loves the children of Italy and they love him very much"; these are some of the tender sentiments of these unsentimental books. After a description of the solar system, which appears to have been given precedence out of fascist courtesy, the child proceeds directly to a consideration of Italian history and greatness. Even in the third year of history, only Italy is studied—and the Italian colonies. Italy's great national heroes are Cesare Battisti, Nazario Sauro, Enrico Toti, and Benito Mussolini. Pupils are made to repeat these words: "It was Italy who won the Great War with the battle of Vittorio Veneto." The fourth year text deals with ancient history, merging into the history of Rome, and ends with Constantine. Nothing is said in the

course about any modern nations other than Italy. Here is the message of these government works to the younger generation regarding the origin of fascism: "Italy, a hundred years ago divided and enslaved, today one of the great powers of the world, presenting an admirable spectacle of discipline, work, and faith. The heroes and the martyrs of the Risorgimento, of the Great War, and the Fascist Revolution have made our country free, united, prosperous and strong. It is now your turn to grow up healthy in mind and body, to continue the work, so that Italy may once more be a splendid lighthouse of civilization."

And what are to be the distinguishing marks and rewards of that "civilization"? "You must be ready as were your fathers and grandfathers, if the country calls you, to fly to arms and die serenely should the safety and greatness of your country exact from you this supreme sacrifice." As for religious teaching, good morals are stressed, theology is taught as something to be accepted without question, and "several stories are told from the Old Testament, which has been much neglected by the majority of Italians."

### Propinquity Not Friendship

One of the favorite devices of the optimist is the stout assertion that *now* (that is, in the present especially illuminated epoch of the U. S. A., 1931) world peace, international understanding, good will, and sound sentiment are being promoted through the magic of the radio announcer's voice across frontiers. The staid old *Times* of Manhattan becomes positively lyrical as it contemplates the way in which "Broadcasts in Europe Seen Working Miracles as Ocean and Mountain Barriers Are Crossed in Music and Friendly Voices."

There was a day when the people who sat with open arms, waiting for world peace to come and be embraced, fancied that the newly-invented steamboat would hasten the departure of war. They were even more certain of it (their children were, at any rate) when the cables were laid across the bed of the wide Atlantic. Lindbergh and others have sung the services to peace of the airplane, with its facility of communication—almost certainly the chief instrument of the dreaded next war. And now it is the golden-voiced announcer.

It may be so in Kankakee, but it is not so in Europe. Americans are glad, perhaps, to hear the King announce his recovery to health; but they are doubtless shocked to hear the murder of the King's English, and to realize that the people in the British Isles are hardly like themselves. When the Germans make revisionist speeches and waft them out upon the air of France, the section west of the Rhine grinds its teeth in silent rage. When Hungary sends throughout the Continent the news that its territories have been filched from



unjustly, the citizens of Czechoslovakia who can understand it at all, are merely confirmed in their suspicions. When the Soviets with characteristic disregard of the amenities, broadcast revolutionary speeches in the very languages of the countries they desire to reach, they set nerves on edge and cause diplomatic protests—which avail nothing, and at which they only chuckle loudly up their sleeves.

Radio is no more or less than a means of carrying ideas. If those ideas in themselves are peace ideas, they will work toward peace. If they are charged with the throbbing queries which anger the minds of men and nations, they will aid, not peace, but conflict. When will sentimentalists cease talking about trivialities, and go to work at the removal of war's economic and psychological causes? When, it may be, they turn off the radio for fifteen minutes and allow their minds to work for such an unwontedly protracted period of time.

## A Daniel Come to Judgment

Whether the labor baiters of the country, and particularly of California, like it or not, the Mooney-Billings case will not down. Since 1916 these two men have languished in prison, accused of the San Francisco bank explosions of Preparedness Day. Year after year, the basis of the charges against them has crumbled and fallen until only the ruthless obstinacy of their powerful enemies, together with the wavering opportunism and die-hard toryism of governors and judges have kept them in prison. Witnesses were revealed as perjurers, irrefutable alibis had been disregarded, "evidence" had been framed, contradictions and confusion ran freely through the testimony. Yet the gates of the prison remain sealed to these men.

Another chapter has now been added to this tragic history. Billings appealed for a pardon which in his case had to wait upon a recommendation of the State Supreme Court. In the sessions of the court the state's case was further weakened by witnesses. Yet the court refused to recommend a pardon.

There was one exception. Mr. Justice Langdon could not agree and wrote a dissenting opinion. This opinion should be read for an understanding of the case. (It is contained in a pamphlet by Alfred Lief, published by the Arbitrator Press, New York.) After analyzing the decision of the majority he concludes: "There has been a failure of proof to such an extent that there is now not even the semblance of a case against him." His further discussion shows that the judge had reason for this statement. If Mooney and Billings had the least connection with the bombing, the state has not proved it. All honor to Mr. Justice Langdon for his vigorous proclamation of that fact.

Mooney and Billings meanwhile waste away in prison. Appeals for pardons have been made by all

living jurors, by the trial judge, by thousands who have studied the case. Governor Young proved himself a political trimmer afraid of taking a stand. A new governor has now come in, James Rolph. If he would, he could wipe out one of the deepest blotches that has stained American justice. Will he do it?

## The Round Table Conference

Premier MacDonald brought the Round Table Conference to a close January 19th with an address in which he invited the further collaboration of the Indian nationalists in the task of perfecting the constitution, and promised a general amnesty to the fifty thousand who are in jail as a result of the civil disobedience campaign.

The immediate reaction to the Conference among nationalist leaders has been unfavorable, and there is a strong probability that the disobedience campaign will continue and that the refusal to pay taxes will spread into more and more provinces. On the other hand, it would be foolish to assume that this will be the inevitable outcome. The problem of guaranteeing the rights of minorities has not received a final settlement, and all factions in India have been invited to work further upon it.

As was to be expected, the constitution which the Round Table offers India falls short of complete dominion status. England still holds the keys to real power by retaining control of finance, defense, and foreign relations. Nevertheless, the basis for a united India has been established and in this the Conference went far beyond what the Simon Report envisaged. Since England is making no promises about the future and setting no time limit upon her prerogatives in the proposed constitution, it may be that advanced Indian opinion will refuse to consider the new instrument at all. On the other hand, it is possible that the Indian Congress will decide that it is wiser to start with the new constitution than to disregard it.

The temper of Indian opinion in the next few months will be determined to a large degree by the question of amnesty. If the offer of amnesty is carried out without niggardly bargaining, and if its general intent is not whittled down by the civil service in India, an atmosphere of goodwill can be created in which England and the Indian Congress may actually arrive at a common agreement. The fact that the Conference report, having both the Liberal and the Labor parties behind it, is therefore fairly certain of passing Parliament, and the additional fact that Conservative opposition makes it likely that a Tory government would offer even less favorable conditions than this constitution provides, may strongly influence Indian opinion. The Indian leaders face no easy decision, but the outlook for peace is more favorable than seemed possible several months ago.



# A Statesman Can Be a Prophet

*The Story of Francis J. McConnell\**

ONE of the American Episcopal bishops who attended the Lambeth Conference last summer in London brought back a story for the truth of which he vouches with all the weight of his apostolic succession. The assembled clergymen, many of them in serried ranks of gaiters, bishops of the Church of England, the American Episcopal Church, of the Anglican Church in British dominions, were having a group photograph taken. The zero hour had come. Faces were being composed with fitting ecclesiastical gravity. The photographer, standing in front of them, just ready to snap the shutter of his camera, issued a last warning, "*Remember, any movement will spoil the group!*"

The photographer was not conscious of having made a generalization on church history, but he came very near summing up a common idea of the spiritual leadership of bishops. It is a conception they themselves have supported with ample evidence. Bishops as a class have not been distinguished for "movement." The hierarchy, time out of mind, has reiterated, "*Remember, any movement will spoil the group. Hold steady.*"

"Our Fathers have been churchmen,  
Nineteen hundred years or so,  
And to every new proposal,  
They have always answered, No."

That is one reason many find it hard to fit Francis J. McConnell into a group of bishops for the essence of the man is movement. Not physical movement. In conference or on the platform or in the pulpit he is about as animated as the Sphinx. There is a rumor to the effect that about a dozen years ago he made a gesture in the pulpit. But as no confirmation of that can be secured, and as he has not done it since, it must be set down as legend. It is doubtful whether during the last decade or two he has taken any more violent physical exercise than that required to scramble into an upper berth in a Pullman car. But in all the years of his public life his mind has been in emphatic and incessant movement, pushing out into fresh fields of thought and action.

The outstanding significance of McConnell in the life of the United States today is expressed in the title of this article—"A Statesman Can Be a Prophet." To those oppressed by the heavy weight of a conventional ecclesiasticism, to those who have seen so often the tragedy of some promising personality congealed

and stiffened by the demands of the office of bishop McConnell is a portent of hope. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the largest service he has rendered to thousands of ministers in the country is to furnish the spectacle of a man standing in the very center of the ecclesiastical machinery, neither overwhelmed nor suffocated by it, but putting it all to the service of an undeflected purpose—the purpose of carrying into the complex welter of modern life the spiritual and ethical implications of the Christian gospel.

It is significant that this forthright prophet has not done his work on a soapbox. There is a place for the soapbox. In the old complacent days of the foreign missionary movement a generation ago, it used to be said that missionaries were carrying "soap and civilization to the Orient." We have begun to be in doubt about the civilization; we are even weakening on the redemptive qualities of soap. And while it appears that the soapbox is more important than the soap, nevertheless, it has its limitations as an instrument of social transformation. It is fragile and it is very moveable. McConnell has undoubtedly accomplished far more as a responsible executive than he would have as a wandering fire-brand.

HOW did he "get that way"? What is it that has given him a unique position, this administrator whose chief distinction is as a prophet? We turn to *Who's Who* for an answer, and *Who's Who* answers in Biblical language, "It is not in me." We find a succession of different posts which he filled, an impressive chronicle of a rise to influential position; yet outwardly it is like many another "success" story. It would make an excellent feature for the *American Magazine* under some such title as "From Country Preacher to Bishop in Sixteen Years," thus establishing a new American speed record in ladder-climbing. The *Trinway*, Ohio, papers—if there are any papers in *Trinway*—would be entitled to reprint excerpts from the story with the usual formula, "Local Boy Makes Good in Big City." Nevertheless, from the recital of the mere outward facts of the McConnell career we gain no more idea of the content of the story, the shaping of a great personality and social force, than we would get an idea of the meaning of Hamlet by reciting the location of the various scenes from the platform at *Elsinore* down to the location of the last act.

Let it not be thought, however, that this rise to the highest place within the gift of his own church is meaningless. It is vastly to the credit of the Methodist Church and organized Christianity in general that

\* One of a series of sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anonymously to permit greater frankness. Reproduction limited to 300 words.



There has been this response to thoughtful, courageous, prophetic leadership as reflected in a man like Bishop McConnell, a man who has deliberately renounced all the devices of the popular orator and the ingratiating "beam" of the "glad-hander." Before looking at an outline of his life, let us take a further glimpse at several unusual combinations of qualities which he exhibits.

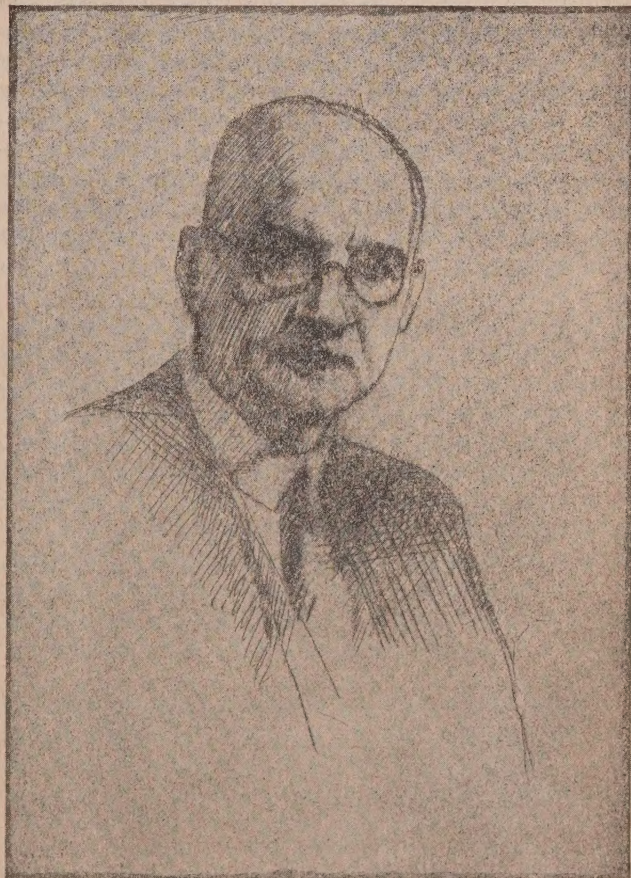
First of all, despite the fact that he is a competent philosopher, McConnell has a keen appraisal of all the forces that are making a din on the street corner—the jumble that is modern industrialism. Indeed, his understanding of and interest in economic and social questions do not go hand in hand with the usual conception of a mathematician and a philosopher. Fundamentally, however, it is as a philosopher that he has made a genuine contribution to his time. His first book, produced during a crowded pastorate in Brooklyn, bore the title *The Diviner Imminence*. Other books showing the mind of the man are *Is God Limited?* and *Public Opinion and Theology*. He frequently carries around in his pocket, as a means of recreation, an analytical geometry. This is one of the way he has kept his mind sharpened—like stropping a razor. One would expect a man of such interests and accomplishments to act as if he had a study on Mount Everest, far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife. A philosopher who fits into such a picture is Hegel—he who wandered into the little town of Jena on the day of Napoleon's colossal battle, and asked what all the disturbance was about! Frequently the philosophic thinker comes into the hurly-burly of industrial life like the gentle soul in George M. Cohan's drama *The Tavern* asking, "What's all the shootin' for?" McConnell knows what the shooting is about.

This concern over economic and social questions is not exhausted in oratory, for there is no oratory. McConnell's leadership among groups outside the church and frequently antagonistic to religion rests, for one thing, on their knowledge that he can and does fight. Wherever a struggle is called for such as his participation in the campaign for old age security, in the Steel Strike Report of 1919, and in the work of the American Civil Liberties Union, he has been in the midst of it. In his own church he has been responsible for a great deal of the advanced legislation as well as the declarations on social questions that have been written into the official pronouncements. In the last twenty years, with Harry F. Ward, he has made the Methodist Federation for Social Service a genuine force for projecting questions into the minds of the church and has given it an influence far out of proportion to its small membership and meager resources.

ANOTHER rare combination of qualities in Bishop McConnell is that of the expert ecclesiastical executive whose main interest in life is not the shell of religion but its soul. And, make no mistake

about it, McConnell is an amazingly accomplished bishop in all the details of his job. If he were not, easy allowances could be made for him. People would say, "How can you expect a prophet to be an administrator? Let him alone, poor dear—he is a flaming soul. Of course, steering a ship through a rocky channel isn't his forte." But nobody has ever made that apology. There is no more efficient officer in his own church or in any legislative body in the United States. Behold him presiding over an annual conference, a task which must often be the dreariest occupation to which a man can be chained; you will see him on the platform looking like Macbeth contemplating the dagger, or an Indian *yogi* lost in meditation upon the absolute; or he is writing a letter on a matter thousands of miles away. The business gets into a nasty snarl. Then quietly you hear the voice of the bishop: "If the chair may be allowed to say a word, I would suggest that you got into this jam by the fact that the first amendment to the motion was out of order owing to its illegality, according to section 294, paragraph 5 of the Discipline."

Yet with this competence, which far surpasses that of many bishops who are noted for little else but com-



From an etching by Bernard Sanders

BISHOP MCCONNELL



plete devotion to ecclesiastical machinery, he has never allowed his interest to be absorbed in the means to the extent of forgetting the end. The best illustration of this faculty for refusing to dissipate his energy in fussy merry-go-rounds is expressed in a recent address he made to a group of ministers: "We have to guard ourselves against the idea that when we are busy we are necessarily busy with something worth while. Some men can come home tired out from what they have been doing all day long and none of it amounts to very much. . . . A good rule to follow is this: Anything you can get anybody else to do, let him do it. That is the mark of a true executive—turning over to anybody, who can do it as well as you, work that otherwise you would have to handle."

By the undiscerning McConnell's lack of effusiveness has often been set down as coldness. Certainly the bishop was never designed as the "greeter" at a hotel. But this seeming undemonstrativeness is in accord with his dominating concern for human welfare. His interest, having no outlet in mere emotionalism, is channelled into action. One Methodist bishop, giving expression to this false test which measures sensitiveness and sympathy by outward signs that cost nothing, declared not long ago that the episcopacy was too much of a strain on him. He could not, he said, appoint a man to a difficult place and then go on to the next order of business. He would toss about all the night afterward. "I am not a McConnell," he explained. A few months later Bishop McConnell, referring to this in a public address, remarked that he could go on to the next order of the day because he had done his tossing the night before and not the night afterward!

**M**ANY of his traits are hereditary endowments. His father, the Reverend I. H. McConnell, was a minister, one of the vigorous preachers of his time, who served churches in Ohio and Indiana and, in the later years of his life, in Massachusetts. His mother, who died only three or four years ago, was a woman of amazing force and skill and spirit. It would be understating the truth to say that she combined the wisdom of the serpent with the gentleness of the dove, for we have never met a serpent endowed with the ability to rear a family of five children in the manner in which Mrs. McConnell did after the death of her husband.

Francis McConnell was born on a farm in Ohio and had reached the age of seventeen when his father died. He was at that time a student at Andover Academy, having already worked in the textile mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts. His mother took the family back to the farm in Trinway, Ohio, and set her heart and mind and will on securing an education for the children. Francis worked on the farm and acquired the physical robustness which has made possible his later

energy. His competence may be judged from the fact that neighboring farmers offered to pay him twenty-five dollars a month for his services. But his mother insisted that this rapid road to wealth be put aside and that he go to school. In 1893 he was graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University, where he won several oratorical contests and, as tradition has it, showed considerable genius for campus politics, and a flair for bringing results to pass while all the time maintaining the appearance of an innocent bystander—an accomplishment he has developed to a fine point in the years since.

After commencement he enrolled in the Boston School of Theology where unquestionably the greatest formative influence in his education was Professor Borden P. Bowne. It was the latter's recognition and enthusiastic appreciation of McConnell's rare capacity for philosophic thinking which gained him his first reputation. On graduating from the Theological Seminary, young McConnell accepted a Massachusetts pastorate and in 1903 was called to the New York Avenue Methodist Church of Brooklyn.

One of the first things which drew the attention of the church at large to the mental acumen of the young preacher was the incident known as the Mitchell case. Hinkley G. Mitchell, of Boston University School of Theology, Professor of Old Testament, failed to be confirmed for reelection to his position by the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who at that time had the power of rejecting a professor. The case was one of the battles for a modern and liberal interpretation of Scripture, and it made history in the Protestant churches in general. When, later, charges of heresy were brought against Professor Mitchell, the vigilant defenders of the faith who were out for Mitchell's scalp struck a snag in their victim's counsel, young McConnell. As Clarence Darrow once said after a debate with Bishop McConnell on the question of a mechanistic universe, "It was like monkeying with a buzz-saw." The Mitchell Case was historic in establishing freedom of thought in the church.

**A**FTER a pastorate of six years in the Brooklyn church, McConnell was elected, in 1909, President of DePauw University, at Greencastle, Indiana. That office was a test, not only of his executive competence but of his courage. A college presidency is the most effective snare into which a prophet can step. The office has so many liabilities. A president is prone to develop throat trouble which prevents his giving expression to anything more dangerous than "Honesty is the best policy" or "The American Home must be maintained." There are so many perfectly sound reasons for stepping on the soft pedal that the utterances of college presidents are, as a rule, quite pianissimo. What man of sense could not persuade himself that "It



no use to be quixotic"; "The time is not ripe for entering this disputed field"; "There is a time for everything"; "Don't bite the hand that is feeding you"? These wise mottoes can be found all the way down the slippery path that leads to new buildings and lost souls. During the four years at DePauw, McConnell was not only a theological progressive in a region filled with listening ears that were keen to note divergence from sacred shibboleths, but he was outspoken on social questions when an interest in them was novel. In all ways he threw himself into the work of making a liberal college and refused the rôle of a financial go-getter.

Four years later in 1912 he was elected a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Those who are familiar with many Episcopal elections can sing with hearty faith Cowper's hymn, "God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform." But McConnell's election was a mystery of another sort. It was a hopeful mystery that in a realm in which there has been such an entanglement of wires of all sorts he came into the office through faith of the ablest men of the church and because of his combination of intellectual, prophetic, and executive capacities. For eight years he was located in Denver where he faced the issues of a rampant industrialism and developed his peculiar method of episcopal leadership, which can well be called peculiar in that it consists not in programs but in holding up the goals for a dynamic church, in the inspiration of ministers, and, above all, in backing them up when they get into hot water.

IN 1920 Bishop McConnell was transferred to Pittsburgh. For this man to be projected into a great steel center dominated by a big-business psychology, in a time of growing tension, had in it the elements of irony. The outstanding feature of those years was McConnell's chairmanship of the Inter-Church Movement Committee which produced the report on the steel strike of 1919. About that achievement there are three striking things characteristic of the man. In the first place, he could easily have side-stepped the job. It was ticklish business at best. He could have said, as hundreds of men have said on similar occasions, "I would like nothing better personally than to do this but I cannot think of myself alone. There are the responsibilities of my position" and so on for a thousand glowing words, at the end of which the speaker really begins to pity himself for not being allowed to go into the fight. McConnell had never learned the crab sidestep. In the second place, he was largely responsible for the procedure adopted that the report should not be the cursory investigation of busy ministers and others on the committee, but should be the scientifically produced, documented investigation of competent experts. Consequently when the report appeared, the rains descended and the flood came, but

it stood because it was founded upon a rock. The partisans of the steel company at the time attempted to apply the familiar smokescreen: "Here is what a bunch of harebrained preachers do when they get lost in unfamiliar fields," but it soon fell of its own weight. However, it is not enough merely to bring in the report. The committee went the further step of standing for it and fighting for it. In all this we see the dominating spirit of Bishop McConnell—his test of any institution by the extent to which it recognizes and serves human values. And that spirit has continued to make itself felt in New York where since 1928 he has served as resident bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

McConnell's prestige has come in part from indisputable intellectual strength. H. G. Wells said of English bishops, not long ago, that they were "socially much in evidence but intellectually in hiding." President Charles W. Eliot is remembered by a well-turned phrase in which he spoke of certain preachers conducting their mental operations with "a maximum of intellectual frugality." But neither frugality nor hiding have marked McConnell. As both Clarence Darrow and Harry Elmer Barnes found when they engaged in debate with him, his was a mind against which the stock arguments of the village atheist were about as dead and impressive as peas blown through a boy's shooter against a stone wall.

Through all these approaches to current problems, Francis J. McConnell is a realist in that he is never interested in paper utopias. On the other hand, he has never been stopped from the most thorough-going ethical criticism of the economic and social order by the bugaboo of not being "constructive." Of all words in the English language, that word "constructive" has given scarecrow service as well as any other. It has frightened off thousands of people from holding to the social implications of their own faith. McConnell is as interested in constructive measures as anyone, but as he himself has pointed out in characteristic passages, often before social construction is possible there must be some radical destruction to make way for the new.

As a boy the bishop first came into local prominence as a long distance runner. On one occasion out in Ohio a man who believed in him completely won a five dollar bet by trusting the boy's ability to catch a calf. Young McConnell caught the calf not by any brilliant or blood-stirring 100 yard dash; he caught it by jogging along after the animal with a steady stride until the calf finally sat down and said, "This thing has gone far enough." Granting that it took all afternoon to catch the calf, there was nothing in the bet about time; the only point that was specified he covered—he got the calf by jogging on to the end of the day. It is a comforting thing to think that child is father to the man. He will be found jogging on at sunset. And he will get his animal.



# A Glance at Turkey, Armenia, and Egypt

DONALD C. BLAISDELL

**I**N no part of the world was the social wreckage caused by the World War of greater magnitude than in the Near East, and in few areas have the wheels of social revolution been revolving at a more rapid rate since the close of hostilities. This fact makes it at once easier and more difficult to discuss the countries of Armenia, Turkey, and Egypt: easier because the fact of change is palpable; more difficult because appraisal necessitates the adoption of standards to be applied to an area where traditional institutions have lost their force, and new institutions are still in the process of construction. Moreover, for each of these three countries the rate of change is different. Yet a comparison from the political, economic and cultural angles will uncover points of similarity as well as points of dissimilarity.

Armenia is but a small unit in an agglomeration of countries integrated into the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. With the republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, Armenia forms the Transcaucasian Soviet Federation. This in turn is one unit of a second federation, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the others being the Russian Soviet Federation, Ukraine, White Russia, Turkmenistan, and Usbekistan. Armenia's existence is thus intimately related to that of many other peoples, all united under the Soviet banner. This constitutes a capital difference from Turkey and Egypt.

Prior to the war the term, Armenia, was applied to two non-contiguous areas rather than to a political entity. The eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire were inhabited largely by Armenians as was the district in south central Anatolia called Cilicia. These areas were known popularly as Armenia. The present Armenian Soviet Republic emerged from the chaos of fighting which prevailed in the Caucasus in 1920. The treaty of October, 1921, between the three Transcaucasian republics and Turkey, concluded under the eye of Moscow, defines the area of and provides for Turkish recognition of Armenia. But the area is less than one tenth of the pre-war Armenian territory, and less than one-fifth of the area defined by President Wilson in the Treaty of Sèvres, an attempt made in 1920 to establish an independent Armenian state but never ratified by the Turks.

The two important facts concerning the internal political life of Armenia are the division of powers between the local government and Moscow and the significant place occupied by the soviet. There are five spheres—foreign affairs, defence, foreign trade, transport, and post and telegraphs—which are under the sole control of the Union authorities. In five other

spheres—labor, finance, workers' and peasants' inspection, internal trade and public economy—Armenia as an allied republic has a direct voice with coördination and supervision by the Union. In the affairs of local government—agriculture, justice, education, health and social welfare—the republic possesses a degree of autonomy.

The soviet is the council of the productive unit—the village in the country and the factory in the city. These councils are elected annually by the working people, either agricultural or industrial. Certain classes, which under a democratic system would possess political rights, are excluded. These classes are the clergy, traders, those who employ others or who live on unearned income, and any who were connected with the Czarist régime. The local village and town soviets elect delegates to the district soviets, and these in turn elect delegates to the provincial soviets. Delegates from the latter are sent to the all-Russian Congress.

**W**HILE Armenia is a soviet republic, Turkey on the other hand is an independent state, free from external control except in those spheres where she has, since 1923, voluntarily assumed certain international obligations. Turkey established her independence by her defeat of the Greek armies in Anatolia in the summer of 1922, and by her successful claim to recognition by the Entente Allies in the Treaty of Lausanne. Mustapha Kemal's pattern for the Turkey of the future was a sovereign, independent, lay state. In order to achieve this ideal two things were necessary: the destruction of the old institutions of the Ottoman Empire and the building up of new institutions to replace them. The process of destroying old institutions brought the Sultanate to the ground in November, 1922, while the abolition, in March, 1924, of the Caliphate and the ministry of religious foundations signified Turkey's willingness to renounce the spiritual leadership of Islam in order that all thought and energy might be concentrated on the erection of a national state.

The proclamation of the republic in October, 1923, paid lip service at least to the western political concept of democracy. When the constitution was adopted in April, 1924, it provided for a government of a radical structure. Sovereignty resides in the nation and is exercised by a single representative chamber which possesses all legislative and executive functions. The titular head is a president, and a cabinet, which must have the confidence of the Assembly, is provided.

Of a somewhat less dramatic nature but of greater significance was the adoption of new law codes. Here



Turkey borrowed heavily from the nations of Western Europe. The civil code, adopted in February, 1926, was modelled on that of Switzerland, which was the most modern and the most democratic in Europe. It had, moreover, been successfully applied in a country inhabited by three different racial groups and therefore seemed adapted to Turkey's needs. Somewhat later a criminal code was adopted, one which took the Italian as its model. The German commercial code was adopted almost in its entirety, while in July, 1927, a new code of civil procedure, drawn up by Turkish lawyers assisted by eminent counsel from Western Europe, was proclaimed. The legal and political structure was thus brought into line with modern concepts.

WHILE Turkey was freeing herself of the impediment of the past, Egyptian nationalists were striving to achieve freedom from British domination. In 1922 an almost complete control over local affairs was realized as the result of the termination of the British protectorate and the proclamation of Egyptian independence. In 1923 a constitution was adopted and Egypt was declared to be an independent state, its government a hereditary monarchy representative in form. But in the proclamation of independence Britain reserved four subjects: the security of imperial communications in Egypt, defence, protection of foreign interests and minorities, and the Sudan. Here of course were drastic limitations on Egyptian sovereignty and Egyptian politicians of all parties have striven for release from these restrictions.

However different they may be politically, Armenia, Turkey, and Egypt have one thing in common: in each agriculture is the principal occupation of the people. Armenia's population is 876,000 persons, of whom some 85 per cent are engaged in agriculture. Of Turkey's thirteen million population, nine and a quarter million farm the land. Sixty-two per cent of Egypt's fourteen millions are counted as following the soil.

INDUSTRY and manufacturing occupy a subordinate position in all three countries. In Armenia the only industrial establishment worthy of the name is a group of five cotton mills in Leninikan which employ about a thousand persons. The future of the industry does not depend so much upon cultivation of the cotton plant as in the acquiring of modern up-to-date machinery and a supply of trained labor. The manufacture of wines and liquor is important, but it is in the hands of a state trust. Mining is developed to a very limited extent, although mineral deposits are said to be extensive and the ore of good quality. According to the recent Turkish census, the country has over sixty-five thousand industrial establishments; but the great majority of these must be small units since the total industrial population is only slightly in excess of 250,000

persons. The most important industries are textiles, tobacco, silk and leather goods.

Transportation facilities are being improved in all three countries. In Armenia the emphasis is upon the construction of new roads and highways, since there is but one railroad—a 450 mile line extending from Georgia to Tabriz, in Persia. The lack of an adequate transportation system has been said by Mustapha Kemal Pasha, president of Turkey, to constitute the most serious problem confronting his nation. In order to remedy this, the government has embarked on an ambitious program involving the construction of over 1,300 miles of line. About 2,750 miles were in operation in 1928. Both upper and lower Egypt are well served by rail, the total length of the lines being about 2,300 miles.

GENERAL cultural conditions in these countries must be considered in connection with prevailing political and religious philosophies. Thus in Armenia communism stamps its imprint not only upon the economic but also upon the political and social life of the inhabitants. Turkey, in turning her face from Islam towards the West, made possible the coming of democracy and the equality of the sexes as well as universal adult suffrage and popular education. Egypt, on the other hand, is attempting the difficult task of incorporating Islam as a way of life into the national state as the form of its political organization.

Since eighty-five per cent of the population of Armenia is of the peasant class, the average inhabitant is not disenfranchised, and he feels that his voice has some weight in the affairs over which the republic has control. As regards religion, a recent observer states that "in spite of pronounced official hostility to the old Russian state church, the (Armenian) Gregorian congregations continue to function, although handicapped by limitations on religious education and through lack of funds." In the realm of education, an integrated system is provided for by law which furnishes instruction from the kindergarten through the university. Illiteracy has been attacked with energy, and there are some 500 schools for illiterate adults, attended by 15,000 persons. Likewise in the sphere of health and sanitation, improvement is to be noted. Facilities for medical education have been expanded, and since 1922 there has been a marked increase in the number of physicians and specialists, both in the towns and rural districts. Hospitals and clinics have also been introduced.

Until recently the participation of Turkish citizens in national elections has been limited to males. The internal political situation has been one of frank party dictatorship; the only organized political group tolerated is the People's Party of which Mustapha Kemal Pasha is the head. This has meant that, although the citizen has the right to vote, the right is limited in fact



to a vote for those candidates for electors who are named by the People's Party.

**R**ELIGION in Turkey is free. After the abolition of the Sultanate in 1922, a Caliph without temporal authority was tried but abolished two years later. That religion was still established was manifest by the inclusion of an article in the constitution to the effect that "Islam is the state religion." In 1928 this article was expunged and the state became secular. Property of the religious foundations was appropriated by the government, and the heretofore important part played by the clergy in education was discontinued. The adoption of new codes of law signified the completeness of the break with the past. Islam as a way of life had been replaced by Mohammedanism as a faith. The position of dependence and inferiority occupied by women was intimately bound up with the institution of polygamy and its sanctioning by the Koran. But there was no enactment of a special law which declared polygamy to be illegal. It was made illegal by virtue of the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code, which made the practice contrary to law and recognized women as equal to men.

Education is considered second only to transportation as the most immediate need of the republic. In harmony with the principles of democracy, the function of popular education has been assumed by the government. Primary education has been made compulsory, and there are at present nearly five thousand primary schools and twenty normal schools operated by the government. Secondary educational facilities under government control include the lycees, while higher education is provided by the University of Stambul and the various institutions of collegiate grade operated by foreigners. An especially interesting phase of the program was the suppression of Arabic and the introduction of the Latinized alphabet as the medium in which the Turkish language is written.

**S**PACE will not permit an extended treatment of the cultural situation in Egypt. It is probably fair to say that steps taken by the government have been neither so drastic nor so much in accord with western principles as is the case in Armenia and Turkey. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that under British surveillance it has been possible to allow a semblance at least of a two-party political system. Progress, it would seem, is a slower process and comes in the form of a compromise between opposing viewpoints instead of being imposed from above. Islam still dominates the life of Egypt. It is the established religion and its importance as a social system is comparable to that which obtained in Turkey before the secularization program was inaugurated. Thus the movement for the equality of women has proceeded at a much slower pace than in Turkey. Nor is there the same emphasis upon popular education. Nevertheless, the practice of

their religions by minority groups is permitted and legal protection is given them. There is free exercise of political rights on the part of all adult male citizens.

**W**HAT of the future of the inhabitants of these countries? Will it record a general heightening of the cultural level of the individual? Here one is faced with the dilemma of standards. By what criteria shall cultural betterment be measured? In all three cases old institutions no longer persist in the form known before the war, and new forms are being shaped after the manner of the West. In Armenia the contact has produced reaction followed by partial imitation; in Turkey the imitative process is positive and complete; in Egypt adaption is the key note. Moreover, while it is true that the West itself is beginning to have grave doubts of its culture, it is quite possible that those institutions which show signs of having outlived their usefulness in the industrialized West may properly be adopted with favorable results in the still agricultural East. They are the product of civilization once rural and agricultural, but now urban and industrial. Logically there would seem to be no reason why such a transplantation should not take place, and with material benefits to the population.

What are the chances that the average Turk will be able to maintain a higher standard of living than he has in the past? Given a long period of peace, a sympathetic and conciliatory attitude on the part of other nations, and the energetic and coöperative support of all the population, conditions will undoubtedly improve, and the future will likely record a raising of the cultural level of Turkey.

As to Armenia, her aims of complete independence are not yet satisfied. For the time being they must hang in suspense. But, although communism and atheism were not her deliberate choice, she has peace, security, and freedom from persecution. She possesses autonomy in the affairs of local government and is relieved of most of the expense of defending her frontiers. Since no government in the world is more keen in its perception of the necessity of the social improvement of the masses, it is altogether likely that the citizen of the Soviet Republic of Armenia will enjoy a fuller life in the future than he has in the past.

Of Egypt one is constrained to speak with caution. That she is prosperous as a country is not questioned. But it is only in certain sections of the population that this prosperity is reflected in a beneficial manner. Much depends upon the outcome of the present negotiations with England over the reserved subjects. If the result is a victory for the Egyptian claims, the energies of the politicians and educated classes will undoubtedly be directed toward the improvement of social conditions in the country. If Britain refuses Egypt's claims, it is to be feared that the vitality of the country's best minds may be spent fruitlessly on political dispute.



# The Suppressed "Sensational Story"

WILLIAM PICKENS

**M**UCH has been written about the systematic manufacture of race prejudice, showing how reports of interracial troubles are colored and falsified against the Negro, and how honest and sincere minds are misled by these warped statements. This evil method has a complementary and scarcely less vicious yoke-fellow: the suppression of news that would be creditable to black Americans and that would tend to eradicate foolish prejudices. An example of this came to light in the East recently in a story which points its own moral. We will give the true name of the Negro doctor in the case, but for obvious reasons we can not give the real names of the other persons involved.

Dr. Clement T. Branch, leading Negro physician of Camden, New Jersey, was summoned to Philadelphia. Arriving at the humble home of a motherly, old-fashioned, colored woman, he found he had been summoned to attend a child-birth. When he was led into the room of the prospective mother, he saw a white child of fifteen, while nearby stood her small sister, a baby of two or three years. Minutes were pressing, and instead of wasting time in asking questions, the doctor plunged into his professional duties.

Later, when the baby was born and the mother resting comfortably, the physician learned the story from the black woman.

These were the circumstances: The little mother and her baby sister were both white children. But the doctor had been summoned by the black woman whose every action and attitude showed that they were her charges, dear to her as her own children. The girls were full-blooded Italians—Rosa Tintorelli, the patient, and her little sister, Gloria. In Pennsylvania births must be registered, and notice had accordingly been given. When the authorities heard that Rosa had had a baby at that address, they got busy. They knew the father and mother of Rosa, and they knew that the address given was "colored."

**I**T is interesting to note how easily the machinery of the mighty can be set in motion when they think that their own caste has been violated. As Dr. Branch sat by the bed of the unfortunate girl, he heard a racket at the door, and some one announced that an officer from headquarters was there to see the doctor and his patient. Before the physician could invite the caller to enter, however, the officer, a plainclothes detective, with his thumbs in his vest armholes and showing his badge strolled in, looking for all the world like some one who expected to catch a thief or trap a criminal.

And in order to make sure of getting over a big story of Negro depravity and crime, Mr. Detective brought with him a newspaper reporter and a court stenographer.

This representative of the Law which had done nothing to protect the child until she was found to be in "colored" hands, began very officially to ask questions, the reporter and stenographer all the while taking notes. Finding that the physician's relationship to the case was unassailably professional, the Law next began to question the black woman, who meantime had been looking on with an expression of mixed humor and contempt.

"And what do you get out of keeping Rosa here?"

"What do you get out of it?" the woman snapped back at him.

"Nothing," said the detective, taken aback by the fearlessness of the reply.

"Well," she rejoined, "I get out of it less than you do, for I'm boarding and clothing and taking care of Rosa and her little sister Gloria!"

Then, as the woman went on to unfold the situation, the stenographer stopped writing and the reporter left off taking notes. This was not the kind of story they had come to play up.

**R**OSA TINTORELLI'S baby was white. Rosa's father was a bandit, well-known to the police, and her mother was less than that—well-known to everybody. This black woman had found Rosa and her baby sister begging in the streets, homeless and helpless. She had cared for them for months. The parents knew where the children were, but contributed not a cent to their support. Finally Rosa's mother had come and, against the protestations of the black woman, had taken the girl off to some den or other. When Rosa returned the next day, she told her black "mother," in tears, how her white mother had got drunk, had made her drink until she herself was drunk, and then had thrust her into a room with one of her criminal male companions, and finally sent her back to the kindly black woman.

All of this Rosa confirmed, giving full details. It was a stunner even for the hardboiled officer. It was a good place for him to make graceful human apologies. Instead, he still tried to play the detective and, turning suddenly upon Rosa, he demanded:

"Here, now! hasn't a Negro man ever had anything to do with you?"

"No!" snapped the girl. "All the colored people have been decent and kind to me."



The colored mother looked at the detective and his companions.

"Now are you satisfied? Will you tell the world about it? No, you won't tell; it's not what you want to tell. And I know what's puzzling you: you are still wondering why I, a black woman, would be kind-hearted enough to pick up two poor, helpless white children and love them and care for them and try to protect them, as if they were my own blood, when their own people had thrown them away. You wonder why a black woman would do this when so many white people are unkind to my race. Well, I'll tell you: there are some white people who are better than you. When I was a little motherless black child, a white woman protected me and raised me just as I'm trying to do for Rosa and Gloria. She was a mother to me, and her home is still my old home, down in Virginia where she lives!"

The detective, the reporter, and the court stenographer filed out in silence and have kept silent ever since. Dr. Branch remarked that he has seen many educated, refined and queenly colored women, but never in all his life before had he been as proud of one

of them as he was of that plain, aproned, uneducated black mother.

THIS story never appeared in print although it is perfectly clear that it would have done much more good in America than the one which the police and the newspapers expected to get and to publish.

When a Negro steals a chicken or a ham, the fact is broadcast as a sort of amused commentary on what is supposed to be his chief characteristic; and when he commits, or is accused of, murder or rape, the story is painted hell-red on the sky as a horrible warning against the great menace of him. But his acts of simple, or exceptional, human goodness are not "news"; indeed they are in most cases taboo. In that complex thing called the public mind, the evil of the Negro is exaggerated; the plain humanness of him is unknown; and qualities or deeds that would elicit praise and commendation if done by others are, when they appear in him, either ignored, sneered at, or suppressed. Race prejudice is not an inborn quality, it is an effect. And this treatment of the minority is a sure cause of that inevitable effect.

## Pax Britannica

REGINALD A. REYNOLDS

THE crowning blessing of British Rule in India is generally assumed to be the *Pax Britannica*.

The Indian who points in reply to the increasing poverty of his country, and accuses us of having "made a wilderness and called it peace," is abruptly dismissed as a sentimentalist. However strong our opinions, it is perhaps in any case unprofitable to weigh the pros and cons of an administration that saves people from war in order that they may die of disease and starvation.

To the pacifist, however, the problem must present itself in a more simple and direct form. He can not be deceived into imagining that an army "keeps peace" any more than he can be beguiled into taking part in a "war to end war." Unless his pacifism is mere opportunism, he must realize that if it is morally wrong to fight an equal foe, it is wrong, mean, and cowardly to shoot down unarmed and unorganized natives in the name of peace. If he is logical, he must realize that the moral evil continues to exist even when outward oppression is not operative. The system which makes it necessary for bombs to be dropped on public meetings (which is what happened in the Punjab in 1919) is a system built upon fear. The Amritsar massacre and the recent brutalities at Bombay, Sholapur, and elsewhere are displays of that violence of which the threat alone is generally suffi-

cient to keep India or any other country "peaceful."

It is unnecessary to point out the difference between this sort of peace and the peace for which Jesus stands. Perhaps it was of this false peace that he spoke when he said: "I come not to bring peace, but a sword." I have often thought of those words when I have heard Gandhi accused of "stirring up strife." I know the Mahatma's own views on this subject well enough to say that peace to him is an inward and spiritual thing which is the logical opposite of the *Pax Britannica*. "If we live at peace because we fear the British bayonets," he says, "I would rather that we should be violent than cowardly." To realize this inner reality of *ahimsa* (non-violence) he would jeopardize outward peace.

TO turn abruptly from principles to practice, I invite the reader to consider for a moment the following passage from the *Manchester Guardian* of January 26, 1923:

Reuter reports that in the past month the Waziris have been served with their usual complement of bombs. Eighty-six tons of explosive and 1,224 incendiary bombs have been dropped on their villages.

Without attempting to argue with anyone who justifies such barbarousness from the standpoint of military expediency, I wish to ask those who opposed the



Great War: "What is your attitude toward a system for which we as Englishmen are responsible—a system which makes this sort of thing necessary in the name of peace?" Unfortunately most people hedge this question. Others attempt to meet it by the very arguments which they themselves refuted during the war. The majority take refuge in "difficulties." To be sure, these "difficulties" are real, just as they were in the World War; but instead of regarding them as insuperable barriers, we should look upon them as obstacles to be overcome. A glance at the situation may help us to see how this can be done.

IN a simpler age the strict censorship that prevails throughout India and especially in the North-West Frontier Province would have been taken to mean that the Government had something to hide. Today we are assured that this is done to prevent "wild rumors." My own experience in India was that the wildest rumors always circulated from those places where the "hush-hush" policy was most stringent. Nor could one feel happy about official statements which represented one side of a story while the other side and all impartial witnesses were gagged. The Indian paper with which I was myself connected was "warned" for publishing an independent account of frontier affairs which somehow evaded the vigilance of the authorities. Later, a report on the Peshawar Shooting by the committee which sat under the chairmanship of Mr. V. J. Patel (ex-president of the Legislative Assembly) was seized and destroyed by the Government.

Nevertheless, news does drift through. The Afridi Raids had their propaganda value, and it is even possible to sort a little truth from the mass of conflicting stories. According to some papers the tribesmen were taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Government to raid their neighbors in India. This, however, conflicted with the statement in the *Daily Herald* (August 14) that "sympathy with the raiders continues to be strong in the city" (i.e. Peshawar). The *Daily Mail* of August 15 published a romantic account of an Indian officer who was captured by the Afridis and reported, on his release, that the tribesmen were "not fighting for personal gain but for the Indian Congress and Moslem movements." He also brought a message from one of the Afridi Chiefs demanding the release of Gandhi. Fantastic as it is, the story would appear to have this much truth in it: that the Afridis are not unkindly disposed toward nationalist India. On the frontier itself there is not even any communal friction.

In the same issue of the *Daily Mail*, the Special Correspondent remarked upon the fact that "these inroads have for the first time been sympathetically regarded in British India." This again is highly probable. There is a further allegation, however,

which was made from the very beginning of the agitation in the Frontier Province, to the effect that the Congress has instigated the tribesmen to invade the country. This I have no hesitation in denying completely, though it was endorsed by official pronouncements from Simla. Repeatedly challenged to produce proof of the statement, neither the Government nor the British press could make any reply. To anyone who knows the policy and personnel of the Congress the suggestion was as ridiculous as the evidence brought forward to support it, though it includes a vague rumor from a press correspondent in Bombay to the effect that the Afridis have admitted this "instigation." The Congress was even credited with responsibility for the activities of "Red Shirt Volunteers." When one realizes that red shirts are the uniform of the Workers and Peasants Party, a communist organization bitterly opposed to the Congress, the foolishness of these statements is apparent.

FROM all this, one fact stands out clearly: the mutual sympathy that exists between British India and the raiders. Whom, then, and what are we "defending"?

I submit that the answer depends entirely on the ability of India to grapple with economic problems which we have failed to meet and have even aggravated. Like the problem of communal antagonism, which is very largely economic in origin and thrives on the growing poverty of the country, this frontier problem is primarily an economic one. Only a lunatic or a brigadier-general could imagine that "their usual complement of bombs" would satisfy the empty stomachs of the hillmen in a time of scarcity. The solution lies in the establishment of close economic relations between hill and plain, particularly by encouraging the tribesmen to sell the products of the hills on the Indian side of the frontier. Already Pathans and Afridis have drifted into India to find work on roads and canals, and organized recruitment among the tribes for such employment would offer the hill men a chance of working for honest money instead of robbing their neighbors.

If in spite of all this there should still prove to be a menace from the frontier, I have absolute faith in Mahatma Gandhi's power to cope with the problem just as William Penn coped with the Red Indians. *Satyagraha* (soul-force) can be utilized in many directions, and I see no reason to suppose that it will be less effective in dealing with the simple folk of the border than it is proving against our sophisticated tyranny. India is not yet pacifist, and we may assume that she will consider an army necessary. But should a crisis of this nature overtake her before she could organize on military lines, Mahatma Gandhi would have his chance. Certainly it would be a splendid test for non-violence.



# Not in the Headlines

## Marriage in Britain

Year before last there were 4,018 divorces in England. Last year there were 622 fewer; at the same time, the marriage rate was the highest for eight years.

## Another French War Resister

Although war resisters in France are on the increase, they are still few. But a sentence of four months' imprisonment was recently handed out to M. Noël Morin for refusal to take part in military exercises at Paris.

## Buddhist Youth Meet

Inspired by the Protestant World Alliance, young people from the Buddhist faith held their first world congress in Honolulu recently. The congress plans to form an international union in order to make Buddhism known throughout the world.

## For and Against Women

At a debate between Vassar and Yale freshman on "Resolved: That the Administration of the Government Would Be Better If Women Were in Charge," the affirmative, upheld by Vassar, won. The freedom of women from the exaggerated sense of national honor which so often leads to war was one of the chief arguments used by the girl debaters.

## A School of Peace in France

Although moderate in its program and viewpoint, a school of peace for the study of international relations was recently opened in Paris under the patronage of M. Briand, and dedicated by M. Painlevé. It is organized by the directorate of *l'Europe Nouvelle*. The school offers two-year courses, those of the first year being general treatments of current international problems and the second year courses going into specific details of policy and institutions.

## Relieving Negro Unemployment

Slight gains in Negro employment have been made in a number of cities. In Omaha a national advertising agency hired twenty colored girls to act as special demonstrators and canvassers. An old establishment in the same city has for the first time engaged colored girls to run its elevators, and a department store employed its first colored saleswoman. Standard Oil service stations in Buffalo are making their initial experiment in employing colored attendants.

## Can the War Be Over?

Mantes-la-Jobie, a town in the Seine-at-Oise, France, has decided to forego all military celebrations and all exercises commemorative of war. Even during the remembrance celebrations going on intensely all through France on the 11th of last November, the Socialist municipal council of this town, despite countless protests from without and within its borders, refused to sanction any form of municipal ceremony. In the town of Rhos Llanerchrugog, Wales, the Welsh Congregational Church has decided to do the same in the future. Last Armistice Day it would not allow the British Legion to use the chapel of the church for services following a military parade. Rhos is the largest colliery village in North Wales.

## Cambridge Union Against Drill

The Cambridge University (England) Union, the famous undergraduate debating society, following a protracted discussion, has voted by a large majority its disfavor of military training in schools.

## Abolition in Liberia

By a recent presidential decree all domestic slaves in Liberia, the Negro republic on the west coast of Africa, have been freed. The decree also abolished the system of "pawning" members of native families as security and prohibited forced embarkation of natives in connection with labor contracts.

## Polish Protestants

A recent conference was held in Posen, attended by representatives of the seven Protestant churches in Poland. A Youth Commission was formed in order to promote contacts between young workers of different churches.

## Folk Dramatics in Scotland

Performing plays often of high dramatic caliber, utilizing patiently rehearsed home talent, there are more than 250 amateur dramatic societies in Scotland. "Every town and village," says Mr. F. Sladen Smith, of Manchester, England, one of the leaders in the folk drama movement in the British Isles, "has its band of players." In many parts of England and Wales the same remarkable rise of these local dramatic groups has been continuing.

## British Industrial Accidents

As compared to 1928, the year 1929 revealed in Great Britain a substantial increase in fatal and non-fatal accidents among wage-earners. In 1928 there were 154,319 accidents, of which 953 were fatal. In 1929, there were 161,269 accidents, of which those resulting in death totalled 982. The increase is attributed to rationalization of industry, and the unfamiliarity of workers with new machines, rather than to a lag in safety devices of themselves.

## No Unemployment Here!

Panics may come and go, but the following corporations have continued to pay dividends regularly for the number of years noted: Pennsylvania Railroad, 75; New York Central, 61; Western Union, 57; American Telephone, 48; Pacific Mutual Life, 46; U. G. L., 45; Standard Oil (New Jersey), 42; Consolidated Gas, 38; Westinghouse Air Brake, 35; Burrroughs Adding Machine, 35; National Biscuit, 31; United Fruit, 31; General Electric, 28.

## Franco-German Youth Meet

A declaration of peace and a desire for friendly collaboration between the youth of France and Germany was expressed at a Youth Conference held at Mannheim last fall under the auspices of the *Deutscher Studentenverband*. Among the sixty young people who attended, thirty were representatives of French organizations such as the Federation of Socialist Students, the Young Republic, and the League of French University Students. A Continuation Committee was appointed to develop interchange between French and German students.



# Profits, Needs, and Democracy

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN

**G**OODS are now produced "for the market." This phrase refers first simply to division of labor. Only a few people in this day and age are entirely self-sufficient, producing directly for their own consumption all they need. Most of us are self-sufficient only in a few narrowly-restricted areas. Furthermore, goods are produced to make profits, not to meet needs. To be sure, some needs are met incidentally, but the prevailing motive is profit. How valid are the thought-patterns of the profit-making system? If we envisage an orderly economy designed only to meet needs as a substitute for the present anarchy of acquisition, can such economic planning be initiated and maintained by democratic methods? This article presents some random thoughts of a beginner on these questions.

## I.

Low motives were not introduced into economic life by the classical economists, although the pursuit of profits was undoubtedly becoming prominent while they were writing. Let us use Adam Smith as a springboard. Here is the gist of his theory:

Every individual is continually exerting himself to find out the most advantageous employment for whatever capital he can command. It is his own advantage, indeed, and not that of the society, which he has in view. But the study of his own advantage naturally, or rather necessarily, leads him to prefer that employment which is most advantageous to the society . . . he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.

It may help to clarify our thinking if we list some of the assumptions which appear to underlie that statement: First of all, it is assumed that society is best served when the allocation of purchasing-power among its members is on the basis of the bargaining-power they exert. Let us examine this assumption of *laissez-faire*. A man's income and ownership depend on what he can and will produce in relation to what society wants and can pay for. His bargaining-power may consist in personal ability—of all sorts, and at all levels. It may consist in property, the result of an earlier bargain driven with society by himself or a financial ancestor. It may consist in both—in varying proportions.

Should we leave this matter of distributing purchasing-power to the fortunes of unregulated combat between members of society? Even Adam Smith makes some qualifications. For example: "The sovereign has . . . the duty of protecting, as far as possible, every member of the society from the injustice or oppres-

sion of every other member of it." What is "as far as possible"? When does "injustice or oppression" set in? Or again: "The education of the common people requires, perhaps, in a civilized and commercial society the attention of the public more than that of people of some rank and fortune." But education of the common people strengthens their bargaining-power. The principle of need is thus admitted by the side-door to challenge the original assumption. And many of us feel that the arrangement implied in this first assumption falls far short of the fully cooperative human society which is our goal. Such a society requires that a man shall have not what he can get but what he needs.

In the second place, it is assumed that society's advantage is a consumer's advantage. But is it? Aren't nearly all of us producers as well as consumers? Doesn't the income a man is able to command on the producing side of his life have immense influence on the consuming side?

**M**ANY of us would push our examination of this assumption still further. Society for us is a world-wide brotherhood. Society's advantage can in a certain sense be identified with consumer's advantage, but only for an all-inclusive community. It is doubtful whether the classical economists were much concerned about that community. It happened that the self-interest of the group in England which was coming to power when Adam Smith wrote in 1776, and which took control in the middle of the nineteenth century, was measurably identified with the consumer-interest of a world-wide society. As Charles Beard says:

English mill owners wanted cheap bread for their operatives; hence no tariff on food. Since they were not likely to be undersold in any market, they could incur the risk of competition in manufactured products at home. Seizing upon that peculiar condition, which, by the way, was never reproduced, English political economists proclaimed freedom of trade as a scientific doctrine.

But free trade, and the identification of society's advantage with consumers' advantage, are valid economics and valid science only for those who by self-interest or by imagination are citizens of a world-wide community. That is, free trade is validated not by any old kind of economics, but only by the economics of one whose self-interest is in some way involved in a large volume of international trade or by the economics of one whose religion or ethics makes him want to meet the needs of Brazilians and Hun-



garians and Manchurians as well as his own. Once more it is plain that science is not a substitute for a religious or ethical purpose.

In the third place, it is assumed that his money's worth is automatically guaranteed to the consumer. In his unrelenting pursuit of profit, every man will have to offer what is for the consumer the best possible combination of price and quality, or else some other producer in his equally unrelenting pursuit of profit will lower the price or improve the quality or both. That is "ideal competition." And to the extent it exists, it insures the consumer his money's worth.

But the trouble is that actual life fulfills only in small degree the conditions on which ideal competition depends. For example, ideal competition requires omniscience on the part of the consumer, whereas much of present-day advertising aims deliberately at restricting the consumer's effective knowledge to one product. It requires complete mobility of labor, whereas workers in this country are denied even the information about alternative jobs which a national employment exchange system might supply. It requires "the long run" for monopolies to be reduced to the level of legitimate profits, whereas the buyers of radio equipment want to use it in the short run.

## II.

ORTHODOX economics assumed that Ideal Competition was Laissez-faire's favorite daughter. Under his almost complete hands-off policy she was able to attain full self-expression. Attracted by that attainment, Economic Life would marry her and they would live happily ever after—in her father's home. But it wasn't long before Ideal Competition began to be anemic, and Laissez-faire's younger daughter, Combination, became more favored by her father and much more attractive. People said it was plain to be seen she was luring Economic Life away from her sister. Some friends of the young married couple sided with the sufferer and passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and other such measures—insulting Laissez-faire by slightly enlarging the home of Social Control, ordering Economic Life to bring Ideal Competition there, and forbidding Combination even to visit.

As this goes to the printer, Economic Life seems to be spending much more time with Combination than with Ideal Competition who is on short rations in the little two-by-four room at Social Control's. In this infidelity he is aided and abetted by the august Supreme Court. Perhaps if there were better food and more room at Social Control's, Ideal Competition could recapture her old attractiveness and get more attention from Economic Life. But even though we were able to force Economic Life formally to stay with her, could we control his inner

attitude to make sure he was really faithful? In other words, the government can never test whether or not a man's internal attitude is one hundred per cent competitive; it can only regulate the overt results—plain, external facts like electric light rates.

Our present economic habits are most frequently called "the capitalist system," or "the competitive system," or "the profit system." Capitalism as an economic technique means only the extensive use of tools, machines, etc.; as a social philosophy it has become synonymous with competition and profit. Basically, it is an alliance of acquisitiveness and Laissez-faire. Men exert their various bargaining-powers to whatever extent they please, in their own interests, and by whichever method seems more promising in a given situation—competition or combination.

## III.

SOME of us contend that the interests of mankind as a whole are poorly served by this profit-making system. To substitute for it a planned economy dedicated to world-wide service (there are of course beginnings of economic planning even in private-initiative countries, but it is scarcely so dedicated) requires perfection of the technique for putting the spirit of coöperative service into actual practice, and it requires much more of the spirit itself than now exists. Can we initiate and maintain such economic planning by democratic methods?

Just what do we mean by "democracy" and "democratic methods"? First there is democracy as an inclusive faith, which impels us to try to bring society closer and closer to that ideal state in which every one decides things for himself, but the result is still the best life for all. Then there is democracy as a political mechanism for deciding questions by counting noses. To introduce "a planned economy dedicated to world-wide service" by democratic methods means to introduce it only as rapidly as a majority of the people of any given community agree of their own free will to the various steps. Reasoning with each other is the one ideal method; the other fellow chooses freely what he likes in our contention, and we choose freely what we like in his contention; then there is combined action on the basis of whatever agreement can be reached. Of course, we admit privately that very often the other fellow really doesn't live up to his bargain. Nevertheless we try to live up to ours.

But that is slow business. Moreover our ideals often change as we move along in the process of mutual education. So the question, "Can we initiate and maintain economic planning by democratic methods?" needs to be broken up into its component parts and rephrased. We must ask ourselves: To what extent is it likely we may be wrong in the ideal we hold at a given moment? If the possibility of our



being wrong seems small enough to be negligible, do we love our economic ideal more and the ideal of being relatively democratic in securing its adoption less, or vice versa?

Must economic planning come rapidly enough to prevent the potential world-wide depression and eliminate the economic causes of the potential next war? If so, perhaps we who believe in economic planning for world-wide service would better abandon democracy and set up a dictatorship. Some have chosen dictatorship in theory or in practice. Early in December Sir Oswald Mosley and sixteen other members of the House of Commons issued a manifesto which prompted such headlines as this: "Labor Group Urges Super-Cabinet of Five to Rescue Britain." On December 18, officials of the International Labor Office at Geneva were quoted as commenting thus on the situation created by a Soviet labor decree: "If it does not make most of the labor in Russia practically forced labor, it does seem to make free labor, in the Western sense of the word, no longer existent there."

To the present writer it seems to be a problem which is insoluble *a priori* and as a whole; each one of us must weigh the various factors in each situation for himself in an endeavor to produce as much good and as little evil as possible—judged by whatever his own Great Good is.

#### IV.

CERTAIN more specific questions may, however, be raised and suggestions offered. First, let us consider several related comments which are often heard: "It doesn't make any difference what sort of system you have; it's the *human nature* underneath which governs. . . . If you extend government control you only extend corruption. . . . If socialism were adopted today, we'd have the same old inequalities next week." Both truth and falsehood are included in these assertions. Acknowledgment of their truth should not, however, blind us to their element of gross error. They imply that our stock of good-will and intelligence is as large as it will ever be—that human nature cannot be changed. Those who hold that point of view should read carefully the article by Charles Selden in *New York Times* of January 6, under the headline, "Reading Supports Home Rule for India." In it is this paragraph:

It was a clear-cut illustration of conversion, one of those rare incidents in the history of such conferences of a statesman abandoning his preconceived notions held at the beginning of the negotiations and becoming convinced by the arguments of the other side and then, not grudgingly or as an act of compromise, but generously and enthusiastically, admitting that the other side is right.

Dramatic changes in human nature may be rare today, normal changes in human nature may occur

so slowly as to almost imperceptible; but they do happen, and there is nothing inevitable in their present slow pace. It does make some difference what sort of system you have if people have *chosen* to have that system. Extension of government control need not extend corruption if people in ratifying more government control are really expressing a human nature which has become more nearly incorruptible. Adoption of socialism need not be followed by reversion to the old inequalities if the voters are really registering a growth in the spirit of coöperative service capable of sustaining socialism.

Second, let us consider the role of the expert in democracy. The leading editorial of *The New York Times* of December 7 comments as follows on Harold Laski's article on the expert in *Harper's* for December:

He shows how far away we have got from the old innocent conception of a democracy, in which one man's opinion is as good as another's. . . . The intense specialization of our time, the spread of scientific ideas, the extension of research, the need of conducting the public business on the basis of ascertained facts, all have made the expert in Government service a far more familiar figure than he once was. . . . [But] with their great merits they have certain defects. It is easy for them to become too narrow, too intolerant, too arrogant. In their mastery of a single province they are tempted to believe that they should be of equal authority in all others. Thus while they are often invaluable servants, there is great risk in allowing them to become masters. Particularly do we need to be on our guard against confiding to them tasks which imply not merely the special knowledge which they have, but a broad understanding of human nature. . . .

Against that background, let us merely list a few questions which we who want to yoke democracy and economic planning will have to learn how to answer: If our economic system is to function to meet needs rather than to make profits, who is to decide what those needs are? If at any given time, not all the needs can be met, who is to decide the order of priority? If the ultimate authority is to be a majority vote of one sort or another, what intellectual qualifications should there be for the exercise of suffrage?

Third, let us consider whether even ideal delegate government would give the best possible reflection of the opinions of those who vote—to say nothing of the present apathy of many voters and the unideal point of view of many among those who now control the situation (from Tammany Hall to Andrew Mellon). Pure democracy in government would require the submission of at least all major questions directly to the voters in referenda, with the alternatives in each matter stated as clearly and unequivocally as possible, and provision made for each question to be answered separately, even though submitted at the same time as several others. We are taught that in our large modern states such a process would be too cumbersome; and it probably would be.



But consider the costs of the present system of government by delegates. Much of the time men gain office not by revealing what they believe but by concealing it. And even supposing candidates and parties to be utterly frank, the perplexed voter may find himself agreeing with fifty-one per cent of the planks in one platform and with forty-nine per cent in the other. Then when the successful candidate has taken office and is forced to declare himself on some issue he chooses one of two courses: If he is brave, he says and does what he really thinks is right. If he is cowardly, he says and does what he thinks a majority of his constituents approve or can be made to approve. It is an ironic paradox that those of us who urge more democratic control, but who also want a regulated economic life, find ourselves applauding the brave Borah and Norris and hissing the cowardly Watson and Fess, when the attitude of the latter on economic issues is probably really more representative of what the nation now thinks (even though wrongly, in our eyes) than that of the former, and therefore more democratic.

ONCE again, it is a question of the relative weights we assign to our belief in democracy and our belief in economic planning. To the extent that we decide we want democracy we shall have to substitute some other system for even an ideal delegate government. Perhaps pure democracy, government by unambiguous referendum, deserves further trial in the great questions of policy like declarations of war, unemployed insurance, etc. As pure democracy invades the domain of delegate government, the delegate's work will change. Perhaps Borah will not then want to be a delegate; he may instead become a professional educator in a broad sense—speaking and writing on public questions, suggesting how people should vote on the various referenda.

Fourth, let us consider one point in the strategy of the religious and ethical reformer. The National Association of Manufacturers opposes a federal employment exchange system because it feels that such a system would bring us one step nearer unemployment insurance. It might consent to the former if it were confident—even mistakenly so—that the latter would not then be proposed. Shall we reformers therefore conceal from the National Association of Manufacturers our belief in unemployment insurance in order to secure its approval of employment exchanges? That would seem to be unworthy strategy—if we do it in the name of education. There are doubtless other values to serve besides that of democratic education, but to the extent that we regard that as our function and profess to be engaged in it, then—no matter how unregenerate our opponents may be—our only worthy strategy is the strategy of the outspoken.

WHAT is our everyday practical task in making democracy ready as rapidly as possible to bear the burdens of "a planned economy dedicated to world-wide service"? With respect to method, we must learn to be scientific without being motionless. Last May eleven hundred economists signed an anti-tariff petition to President Hoover. In coming to this decision many of those economists were doubtless as objective and fair-minded and scientific as it is possible to be. They will be willing to revise their tentative judgment in the light of facts which come to their attention in the future. But they realize that the world needs guidance now, and they were willing to announce that tentative judgment even though to some it may have seemed premature.

With respect to the content of our beliefs, we must learn to be tolerant without being neutral. Intolerant people raise barriers in our path to progress; colorless people deprive us of the stimulus required for our start on that path.

With respect to our spirit, we must learn to be realistic without being callous. It is important for reformers to remember the moral imperfections of many of the underprivileged as well as their needs; but we must not allow pseudo-realism to dull our sensitivity to the awful consequences of such vast economic happenings as a world-wide depression over which the individual workman has practically no control.

If democracy is successfully to substitute economic planning for profit-making, then we must at bottom reduce this worst waste of all—the wasted radiance of attractive and able and privileged people. Most of us who fall even partly within that group make too narrow use of our equipment; we sell out to the god of things as they are. Then we are outraged when revolutions guillotine so many of the attractive and able and privileged.

## Return

THEY told him there was no need for going back. They said, "You are old and like to lose your way."

But his shadowy mind pursued the remnant track  
That memory salvaged from a slow decay.  
They said, "The house will not be standing now."  
But he could remember the eager days of building;  
How the bright sweat stood out on lip and brow  
In bitter, crystal beads and the sun gilding  
His bare, bronzed arms.—They let him go alone.  
It was so long ago, he had forgotten  
That earth reclaims all things that are her own—  
That the firm rafter sags and grows worm-rotten  
And the intrepid stone sleeps under moss,  
While only flesh stays late to mourn its loss.

SARAH LITSEY



# Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson

## The Gospel According to Big Business

I am proud to say that the morning prayer exercises in my factory have had the finest economic effect. Workers are producing far more goods than before the prayer system was started some years ago. We have made it almost impossible for anyone but a Christian to get a job. We examine applicants for work to see if they have any dangerous ideas. We have been able, by that process to keep our plant free of trouble.—JOHN E. EDGERTON, *President, National Association of Manufacturers.*

## Our Jewels

One of the committees reports that out of 45,000,000 children in the United States 35,000,000 are reasonably normal; 6,000,000 are improperly nourished; 1,000,000 have defective speech; 1,000,000 have weak or damaged hearts; 675,000 present behavior problems; 450,000 are mentally retarded; 382,000 are tubercular; 342,000 have impaired hearing; 18,000 are totally deaf; 300,000 are crippled; 50,000 are partially blind; 14,000 are wholly blind; 200,000 are delinquent, and 500,000 are dependent.—*President Hoover in an address before the White House Committee on Child Health and Protection, November 19, 1930.*

## A "Christian" Protest

A religious forum was held in Washington, D. C., recently, in which Clarence Darrow, a Catholic layman, a Jewish rabbi, and a Protestant pastor participated. Plans were made to segregate colored people who might attend in gallery seats. Protests were made to all the speakers. Darrow alone spoke out against the plan. He threatened to withdraw unless what he regarded as an injustice was corrected, and the segregation plan abandoned. A Washington minister's comment was that the so-called agnostic did the "Christian" thing. Humanitarianism, certainly, does not come solely under denominational labels.—*N.A.A.C.P. News Service, December, 1930.*

## How They Do It Elsewhere

The first point to be noted is the amazing decrease of crime in the past ten years throughout England. Twenty-four prisons have been closed in less than twenty years. Their number has been halved since the beginning of the century. . . . The figures are signs of a revolution in the attitude of the worker toward the law. The old attitude was one of class solidarity against the law and its representatives, the police. Obedience and law observance were a matter of fear. Since the war a new attitude has developed, and new relations of mutual confidence and understanding have grown up between workers and police. . . . During the general strike thousands of excited strikers thronged the streets, holding meetings and listening to speeches. The chief of police was directed by headquarters to enroll special constables for the emergency. He rang up the local officials of the trade unions on strike and asked them to appoint their own specials. They readily agreed. No other specials were appointed, and not a single case of lawbreaking occurred.—*Alice M. Cameron, in The Nation, September 10, 1930.*

## American Army Journals Please Copy

Today the whole civilized world—the more sensible portion of it at any rate—is tired of war, and its futility as a method of settling international disputes is apparent.—*Editorial, The Army Quarterly (London), April, 1930, p. 10.*

## Starting from Here

There is one thing the individual can do. He may not be able to control the sheep, either the flocks or the bell-wethers in high places, but he can resolve to resist the evil of war himself. That will be decisive for himself, and, if there are very many like him, that will be decisive for all.—*Ernest Thurtle, M.P., in The New World, November, 1930.*

## It Won't Be Long Now!

A few weeks ago a well-known American journalist, familiar with conditions in the Far East, visited the State Department and asked every official he came in contact with just what the American Government would do in the event China should suddenly become sufficiently powerful to take unilateral action on the extra-territorial question. The universal reply was that the American Government "would do absolutely nothing, because the losses possibly resulting from an abolition of extra-territoriality would not be sufficient to justify any special action on the part of the United States Government."—*Editorial, The China Weekly Review, October 4, 1930.*

## Millions Might Have Lived

Imagine that the Geneva Council had existed in 1914. It is not certain, but it is probable that the war would have been averted. When one reads the absurd and tragic dispatches of those days, one sees that they all arrived too late, that an agency for transmission was lacking and that several of the governments interested desired a conference but did not know how to convoke it. Geneva would have automatically supplied a ready and authoritative body. . . . If the existence of the Geneva Council meant only one chance in a hundred of turning aside a calamity from humanity as needless as the World War, that alone would make me an ardent partisan of the institution.—*André Maurois in The New York Times Magazine, October 26, 1930.*

## A Famous Canon versus Cannon

Personally, I hold that nations should accept arbitration even though they may fear that the scales are weighted against them, because in my view even a decision not altogether just is preferable to the abominable arbitrament of war. Nevertheless a day may come when we shall have to choose whether or no we will fight against a nation which refuses the arbitration of an arbitral court. My answer is quite definite. To me war is the denial of God in all His Fatherhood. The Christian must, because he is a Christian, refuse to kill. To the Government his reply must be: "I shall not shoot; not even if you shoot me because I refuse."—*Canon Donaldson of Westminster Abbey, in The New World, November, 1930.*



# Potter's Field

ZEKE LAKE

*(There was once an Astronomer Poet who chanted of the Potter's Hand that shook and thus created a vessel of ungainly make which leaned all awry. Here are thoughts concerning those twisted pots, which, shattered ultimately, are hurled back into the field from whence they came.)*

HEREDITY doomed them; environment damned them;  
The hands of all mankind were raised up against them;  
Here lies the twisted back—  
There rests the twisted brain—  
Rotting back into the yellowish clay  
Under the autumn rain.

Their ancestors cursed them; society starved them—  
Starved bodies and souls, and from out the feast thrust them;  
Here lies the twisted back—  
There rests the twisted brain—  
Hungry no more, and at peace, now at last,  
Under the lulling rain.

The lady called lust was the mother that bore them,  
And selfishness sired them and ignorance suckled them,  
Vice schooled the twisted back;  
Crime taught the twisted brain;  
Bread for the hunger that gnawed at their guts—  
Such was their gain.

The strong have built jails and electrical thrones for them;  
And blasphemous crosses and graves have been made for them;  
Dungeons for twisted backs;  
Gibbets for twisted brains;  
Curses and blows for the ostracized weak  
Born in a world of Cains.

For Moses, the Prophet, once gave forth the Law:  
"An Eye for an Eye!—This," said he, "be the Law!"  
Damned, then, the twisted back!  
Cursed, then, the twisted brain!—  
All men are free of will, under the law;  
Equal!—in Midas' demesne.

\* \* \*

*(The Shade of a Poor Old Stiff Speaks Up:)*  
"Can yer see any ghosts, Buddy? . . . Can yer see any ghosts? . . . Mebbe yer can, if yer ever been where they was before they was planted here.

. . . Every one of them little yeller mounds of mud is over all that was left after the studen croakers got through carvin' an' snippin' an' cuttin', Buddy.

"This here pile, fer instance, is Louey the Gunsel, whose hair they curled in the hot seat, yer may remember, because he bumped the dick who was goin' to send him back to the bighouse. . . . An' the newspapers forgot to say that Louey had hardly been out'n the can in all his life from the time he was fifteen years old.

"An' this here mound is Violet—jest Violet, that's all—who died screechin' in a padded cell with the old ral bugs burrowin' in her brains.

"Over there, under that pile, is Ishmael, the hump-backed fairy who they finally burned because he offered candy to one little girl too many—or so they claimed. . . .

"An' here's Red, who was clubbed to death by the dicks an' finks who was bustin' hell outa the big strike. . . . Red oughtn't to be here, by rights, but I guess mebbe he feels more at home among these kind of folks than he would playin' a harp in heaven among the dominies an' angels, anyway.

"An' here, right next to Red, is—well, I know most of my neighbors here, but I never found out who this one is under the mound where the cross has fell down. Mebbe it's Jesus Christ come back to earth an' spiked up again, for all we know. . . . Mebbe he was framed, kangarooed, railroaded an' touched off fer tryin' to stir up the poor folks again. . . . Aye, Buddy? Can yer see any ghosts?

"An' here, an' here, an' here—Oh, I could tell yer lotsa tales, Buddy. . . . Not pretty tales, but true tales. Not nice tales, but honest tales. . . . A few of 'em's in the old newspaper files, but most of 'em's—jest wooden crosses; an' now even the crosses is fallin' down an' moulderin' inter the dirt. . . .

"No; I guess yer can't understand how I get that way, Buddy, unless yer can see ghosts; unless yer've been in a stinkin' courtroom or jail where everybody's supposed to be 'equal under the law.' . . . Well, they're all equal here, at any rate, by God! . . ."

\* \* \*

Ye miserable ones who should never have been,  
Poor crucified victims of hate, pain and sin—  
Softly sleep . . . twisted back . . .  
Gently rest . . . twisted brain . . .  
Rotting back into the yellowish clay  
Under the autumn rain.



# The Book End

*The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.*

## Creating New Law

*The Social and Economic Views of Mr. Justice Brandeis.* Vanguard Press. \$4.50.

DEAN ROSCOE POUND'S volume entitled *Interpretations of Legal History* has been described as "a summoning of jurists to take their proper place of leadership in the work of adapting old law and creating new law to meet the ever-changing needs of social justice."

*The Social and Economic Views of Mr. Justice Brandeis*, collected with introductory notes by Alfred Lief and containing a foreword by Charles A. Beard, is the record of one charged with judicial duties who has seen, in the words of Dean Pound, that "law must be stable, and yet it cannot stand still. . . . Continual changes in the circumstances of social life demand continual new adjustments to the pressure of other social interests as well as to new modes of endangering security. Thus the legal order must be flexible as well as stable."

This is a volume of exceptional worth, not alone to the legal profession, but to members of all professions who are interested in a better social order. It contains the opinions of Mr. Justice Brandeis topically arranged, so that the student becomes acquainted rapidly with the "realistic, fact-burdened method which he has employed in all his thinking about legal and economic affairs." Here are his opinions dealing with labor problems, the regulation of business, public utility economics, guarantees of freedom, prohibition and taxation, state and nation, and, likewise, a summary of the ideas expressed by the Justice before 1916.

In the Duplex Printing Press Company versus Deering, 1921, a dissenting opinion insists upon the fact that labor faces an entirely different problem in a day when business is organized upon a gigantic scale. "May not all with a common interest join in refusing to expend their labor upon articles whose production constitutes an attack upon their standard of living and the institution which they are convinced supports it?" asks the Justice.

His recognition of the necessity of developing principles of change is seen in the dissenting opinion in Truax versus Corrigan, wherein picketing and property rights were involved. The Justice remarks, "What methods and means are permissible in this struggle of contending forces is determined in part by decisions of the court, in part by acts of the legislature. The rules governing the contest necessarily change from time to time. For conditions change, and, furthermore, the rules evolved, being merely experiments in government, must be discarded when they prove to be failures."

In the case of *Dorchy versus State of Kansas*, Mr. Justice Brandeis enunciates the principle of the "qualified right to strike," showing that neither the common law nor the Fourteenth Amendment confer the absolute right to strike. He insists, "A strike may be illegal because of its purpose, however orderly the manner in which it is conducted."

Space denies the opportunity for proper quotation to reveal the

value of this splendid volume. Social students will be particularly happy to possess a complete copy, save for certain lengthy citations, of the famous Oregon brief. If lawyers and judges were students in college, they might well be required to read *The Social and Economic Views of Mr. Justice Brandeis*.

G. BROMLEY OXNAM.

## Beware of Obedience

*The Dangers of Obedience.* By Harold J. Laski. Harper. \$3.00.

IN an era of cringing to power, weasel words in public utterances, intimidation of original thinkers, and suppression of free speech, Harold J. Laski handles the subject of his volume *The Dangers of Obedience* with a forthrightness that renders it a tonic. Those who would fill up their verbal armory will find in this book a well-stocked source of incisive phrases. One can dip in almost anywhere and pull out a gem.

Yet with all the fear of governmental power over ideas and of industrial straight-jackets through standardization, Professor Laski sees that "authority fears to encounter the insistent conscience of its opponents"; that "no state is ever securely founded save in the conscience of its citizens"; and that "modern governments are doubtless more powerful than at any period in the history of the world; but they are still dependent for that power on their willingness to obey the decent opinion of their subjects."

A second concern of the author is American democracy. In three forceful chapters entitled the "American Political System," "The Recovery of Citizenship," and "A Plea for Equality" the weaknesses of our political scheme are laid wide open. Professor Laski is frank in his criticism, but his frankness is based upon objective study and observations. He has had an unusual chance to view American democracy at close range and in perspective. A trained political philosopher of the English liberal school, a lecturer at Harvard for several years, a student of politics at home and abroad, and a friend of democracy, he is well qualified to speak.

The third main theme of the book is a discussion of higher education, which includes chapters entitled: "The Teacher and Student," "The Academic Mind," and "Foundations, Universities and Research." There has been so little discussion of this last subject that Professor Laski's criticisms have the merit of novelty. Most college professors must have seen what the new vogue is doing to independent, inspired scholarship, but scarcely any have been brave enough to speak out. Domination of universities and of research by the directors of foundations is not charged. "The foundations do not control," says Professor Laski, "simply because in the direct and simple sense of the word, there is no need for them to do so. They have only to indicate the immediate direction of their minds for the whole university world to discover that it always meant to gravitate swiftly to that angle of the intellectual compass."

The book contains a chapter on Rousseau, another on Machia-



velli, and finally one entitled: "Can Business be Civilized?" These complete a work of three hundred pages, replete with excitement for the reader whose mind is not closed to the critical examination of old ideas and the reception of new ones.

JOHN A. LAPP

## The New South

*An American Epoch: Southern Portraiture in the National Picture.* By Howard W. Odum. Henry Holt and Company. \$3.50.

NOWHERE is the struggle to achieve a Christian civilization greater than in our South; and perhaps nowhere is the struggle going on more hopefully, for the vast majority of the white people of the South still believe in Christian ideals. To get a fair picture of that struggle, one cannot do better than to read this new volume by Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina. The book spans the last four generations of Southern social history, but it is not primarily an historical work. Rather, it is a social survey somewhat on the order of *Middletown*, but embracing sixteen American states instead of a single community. Without fear or favor, the author sets down the lights and shadows of the Old South, of the conflict between North and South, of Southern politics and government, Southern religion, Southern rural and urban life, Southern factory and industrial development, Southern racial conflicts and adjustments, Southern education, and finally Southern literature, art, and science. The whole story is woven together by the literary device of following the fortunes of two typical Southern families, one from the aristocratic class, the other from the common people.

Professor Odum points out that the fundamental difficulty in understanding the South is that there are many Souths instead of merely one, just as there are many Germanys, many Italys, and many Frances. Each region of the South developed differently, in some cases with widely divergent cultures and ideals. In part this is explained by the isolation and the diversity of geographical environments. But it is also explained by the inherent differences among the settlers of the South. In a single state, such as North Carolina, were to be found English Quakers, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, German Lutherans, Italian Waldensians, Spanish, Huguenot French, a considerable number of American Indians, and of course hosts of Negro slaves brought together from many sources. The author effectually explodes the myth of a "pure Anglo-Saxon" stock in the South. While there is no doubt that the Anglo-Saxon stock predominated, he has no difficulty in showing that it was thickly sprinkled with many other peoples, and that all of these together must be taken into account to understand the present South.

Still another factor in the South's development has been the bi-racial conflict, which was, of course, aggravated by the outcome of the Civil War and the attitude of the North. Professor Odum does not, however, make this bi-racial conflict the determining factor in all other Southern attitudes, as superficial writers have done. He points out that there are almost as many different attitudes among white people in the South toward the Negro as there are among whites in the North. He has little difficulty in showing that in the solution of this problem the South is not only making progress, but that in some respects she has become the leader in adopting a more liberal attitude toward the Negro.

An enthusiastic Southern reviewer speaks of the book as "the most important contemporary contribution to sociological literature about the New South." The present reviewer, however, feels

that Dr. Odum's work illustrates the difference between the description of social facts and sociological explanation, and he regrets that the writer did not attempt more of the latter. It is unfortunate that he did not show how the civilization of the South is rooted in the fact that it has been essentially a colonial society made up of many diverse elements; that in this colonial society, until late in the nineteenth century, survived essentially the eighteenth-century civilization of France and England; that the survival of that eighteenth-century civilization into the nineteenth century produced many economic, political, and cultural maladjustments. Even yet the New South shows necessarily many marks of its history; but eighteenth-century manners, morals, and ideals are now being rapidly swept away in nearly all Southern communities with the coming of the machine civilization of the twentieth century. Whether the outcome will be ultimately good, only time can tell.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

## A Living Faith

*A Living Faith.* By Albert Melville Farr. Edwin S. Graham. \$2.00.

IT is refreshing in these days, when books are tumbling off the presses either criticizing or upholding certain religious ideas, to find an author who by contrast simply lets his faith play through him. Albert Melville Farr, in his book of essays (or are they sermons?) entitled *A Living Faith*, attempts not to make a case but rather to open up various themes such as simplicity, humility, awe, hope, and fellowship; and in order to give point to his own rich meditations he draws upon a thoughtful familiarity with the writings of saints and sages. Perhaps that word meditation would best describe the chapters. They contain no arguments, they are not aimed to make the reader go out and do great things, but they do illumine the ordinary business of life and bring a new appreciation of its undeveloped resources.

It ought to be said that the book will meet the needs of the older generation, trained in the vocabulary and ways of the church, far more than it will the young. The latter will find that Ernest Tittle in his *The Foolishness of Preaching* speaks to them. This is not to suggest that it will minister to complacency, for it won't; but the writer leans so steadily on the Bible in the development of his thought, that it may be doubted whether our modern young people will know what it is all about.

PAUL JONES

## Armor of Light

*Armor of Light.* By Tracy Mygatt and Frances Witherspoon. Henry Holt. \$2.00.

IN their new book *Armor of Light*, Tracy Mygatt and Frances Witherspoon carry the imaginative study of Christian history begun in the glorious company on into the later first century. "That was a time," says their foreword, "when no one took Christianity for granted." One notes a rather similar situation now, in view of the growing respectability of religious indifference, and the frequent scorn with which ancient faith is regarded. This book may bring home to its readers the unique results Christianity once produced in a civilization as sophisticated as our own. In these stories we catch glimpses of the startling impact of a new force on sundry types—on the governor of a Roman province, on an ex-gladiator, on a converted Pharisee and a dreamy girl, both of them waiting for the Second Coming of the Lord. The background is history: the siege of Jerusalem, the burning of



Rome, the northern forests where a slave once blessed by a vision on the Emmaus road, holds up a Roman legion and wins from some of them allegiance to the Prince of Peace. We see—and this is the best thing in the book—the spread of ideas under the new influence, the gradual change, for instance, of the apocalyptic hope into realization of the continual presence of Jesus and of his transforming power. That power, the authors would say, is still in the world. Despite simple and somewhat old-fashioned technique, this is a book to welcome. It should be in every library for young people; and the elders too would read it with profit.

VIDA D. SCUDDER

## The Price of Patriotism

*Patriots Progress.* By Henry Williamson. E. P. Dutton. \$2.50.

JOHN BULL(OCK) was an ordinary patriot, in England, in 1914. This means that he was not much interested in that foreign thing called international relations; that he held romantic notions about warfare; that he felt England could lick any enemy on short order; that he never questioned the necessity or wisdom of war; that he assumed he would not do the dying that goes with war; that he went into the army rather gayly and very blindly; and that, granted the eternal moral superiority of his own people, he believed this was a righteous war.

The training camp took care of his morals, especially in those little things that mattered to his mother; the trenches fixed his feet, and the officers played havoc with the righteous cause. The front line wasn't a romance and the enemy weren't inferior pigs, easily stuck. He waded through the inevitable suffering, lice, despair, lost a leg, and returned home. At once his father proudly inquired whether "he shot any Huns." John cried, "I didn't see one." He "grew fat and happy (in the convalescent camp) and lost all interest in the war. Never wanted to hear of it again. It hadn't been such a bad time, taken all round: he wouldn't have missed it, really. They said you could do a lot on an artificial leg."

This is the usual war story, written in an effort to pile up the feeling tones of the front line experience so that one gets a mass impression. Whether the reader considers this the greatest war book yet will depend largely upon how many war books he has previously read, upon personal tastes and upon his frame of mind when he takes it up. The title *Patriots Progress* is excellent. John wasn't a super-patriot, he was just a patriot. And patriots go to war. Some come home wounded in body, but still patriots.

TUCKER P. SMITH

## Free-Thought

*A History of Free-Thought in the Nineteenth Century.* By J. M. Robertson. Putnam's Sons. 2 vols. \$7.50.

THIS essay in culture-history, *A History of Free-Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, is an expanded rewriting of the brief section with which the veteran rationalist, J. M. Robertson, closed his earlier work on free-thought published in 1915. Unlike A. W. Benn's *History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century*, it surveys the foreign field as well. It is prompted also by the conviction that the Cambridge Modern History and the Cambridge History of English Literature neglected highly important matter. By free-thought the author means opinion in revolt against dictation by Catholic and Protestant teachers.

The book begins with an account of the reaction to orthodoxy occasioned by the French Revolution. The next series of chapters

details the counter-attack in the name of free-thought by the early natural scientists and Biblical critics. In the sketch of the later general advance, the largest space is given to the commotion excited when Charles Darwin fired the shot heard but lately in Tennessee. Credit, however, is also given to American writers who helped the cause of free-thought. Theodore Roosevelt's absurd characterization of Thomas Paine as a "filthy little atheist" receives its due comment.

Mr. Robertson's object in tracing the interaction of free-thought, science, and religion, is to record the debt of mankind to the first two and to encourage their efforts today and tomorrow. He notes with satisfaction that multitudes of churchmen are now substantially of the religion of Voltaire; but in spite of Modernist stirrings, the hold of Catholicism and of Protestant Fundamentalism is still great and likely for long to remain so. The closing chapter touches briefly upon the present century. It says nothing of the fact, important at least to America, that at present the more acute struggle against dictated opinion is being waged over questions of economic and social reconstruction.

It is to his credit that the author does not envisage the religious battle as entirely between opposites of reason and unreason, even though he slips into calling free-thinkers truth-seekers, as if the others were not equally eager to discover light. He scores against Lamennais (Vol. I, p. 31) for discrediting reason when all the time it was reason by which the Frenchman was expecting people to read and understand him. Mr. Robertson seems unaware that a like argument can be directed against his own denial of free-will. Is he not writing a book with the object of persuading people to change their minds and wills?

HENRY NEUMANN

## Heterodox Orthodoxy

*God Without Thunder.* By John Crowe Ransom. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.50.

MR. RANSOM'S unorthodox defense of the orthodox conception of God is a piece of vigorous writing which it will do no modern harm to read. His defense is unorthodox in the sense that he frankly accepts the mythical character of religious revelation, but insists that the poetic insights of great mythology give clues to the nature of reality not found in the more consistent reason of science and philosophy. His particular quarrel with religious modernism is its sentimentalization of the idea of God. He prefers the God of thunder, whom he erroneously identifies with the God of the Old Testament (what about Hosea's God?), to the sentimentalized Christlike God. He bases his preference upon the facts of experience which, he holds, do not justify the conception of the God of love. The real fact is that the author's idea of God is not so much that of a God of thunder as of an inscrutable, paradoxical, and mysterious God. Religion is to him poetic reaction to life's ultimate mysteries. One and only one of these mysteries is the relation of the highest ethical values to the blindness and brutality of nature. The voice of Professor Ransom is that of a poet who protests against the lack of imagination in the modern day. But the protest is rather futile because it speaks with complete irresponsibility toward the profounder ethical and philosophical problems which it raises. Religion is poetry but if it has any claim upon the interest of the modern man it must come to terms with the philosophical and social problems which he faces.

The book is a trenchant study filled with insights which are no less valuable because they are not easily appreciated by moderns.

R. N.



## WE RECOMMEND

*The Case for India*, by Will Durant. Simon and Schuster. 228 pages. \$2.00. An admittedly impassioned and partial account of the situation. Although readable and provocative, it needs to be balanced by other books covering the same ground.

*Mars: or the Truth About War*, by Alain. Published by Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 319 pages. \$2.50. Ninety-three short essays by a French philosopher. Emphasis is placed upon the need for a mass movement of refusal to participate in war.

*Modern British Poetry*, Edited by Louis Untermeyer. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 790 pages. \$3.50. A critical anthology now published in a third revised edition. More than 160 poets are represented in this interesting collection.

*Spreading Germs of Hate*, by George Sylvester Viereck. Horace Liveright. 327 pages. \$3.00. A portrayal of wartime propaganda by a German-American who played a prominent part in the effort to keep the United States out of the World War. Artificially created fears and hatred—not the fighting instinct—drive men into war.

*Ten Years of World Coöperation*. Foreword by Sir Eric Drummond. World Peace Foundation, Boston. 467 pages. \$3.50. Here is a record of history in the making, the story of the first ten years of the League of Nations. Written by members of the Secretariat, it contains a vast fund of information presented in an unvarnished manner. Invaluable for peace workers.

*China: the November, 1930, issue of The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 3622 Locust Street, Philadelphia. \$1.50. This special number of 400 pages contains an invaluable series of thirty-nine articles on various aspects of life in China, covering the realms of history, social conditions, industry, politics, religion and morality. Nowhere else can the general reader more quickly gain a reliable impression of the recent trend of events in China.

*The Psychology of Socialism*, by Henry De Mann. Henry Holt. \$4.00. The author of this book has for his ideal socialism infused with a new morality. He looks upon socialism not as a Utopia but as a *motive*; and people who are actuated by this motive will, he believes, be the happier for it. The goal of a better social order will recede as we approach it. The agency for approaching it will be the socialist movement.

*The Human Mind*, by Karl A. Menninger. Alfred A. Knopf. 446 pages. \$5.00. This very readable book aims "to present to the lay reader and to the student the psychiatrists' conception of the human mind." It is written from the point of view of the younger group in American psychiatry. The author, who is both a practicing psychiatrist and a teacher of college students, brings a wealth of illustrations from everyday life in answer to questions like these: "What are the tendencies in the personality which result in disaster in certain situations? What do the disasters look like, and what are the signals of distress? What underlie the signals (the symptoms) and how can their language be understood? How can the failures be rehabilitated? And how can one maintain a healthy mind?"

*Labor Problems*, by Gordon S. Watkins. Thomas Y. Crowell. \$3.50. A revised edition of a classic volume. Probably the most comprehensive and up-to-date discussion available.

*The Great Crusade and After: 1914-1928*, by Preston Wm. Slosson. Published by Macmillan. 486 pages. \$5.00. A popular interpretation of major events in the United States during a fifteen-year period. Themes discussed range from war to motor cars, peace to prohibition, prosperity to nationalism, advertising to education, sports to the mind of a nation.

*Northcliffe: An Intimate Biography*, by Hamilton Fyfe. Published by Macmillan. 357 pages. \$4.00. The dramatic story of "the most powerful man in England" during the war, told by a famous correspondent and personal friend. Opinions are sharply divided as to whether this newspaper czar should be regarded as a sinister figure or a public benefactor.

*Our Educational Task, As Illustrated in the Changing South*, by William Heard Kilpatrick. The University of North Carolina Press. 123 pages. \$1.50. In an earlier book, *Education for a Changing Civilization*, Professor Kilpatrick treated the fact of change and how to face the consequences of that fact. In these later lectures he deals with the worth of our changing civilization, its failure thus far to satisfy, and what to do about it.

*The Spirit of the Chinese Revolution*, by Alfred N. Holcombe. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.00. A compilation of lectures delivered at Boston under the auspices of the Lowell Institute. Professor Holcombe indicates that several revolutions, political, social, and industrial, have gone on simultaneously in China, and he pleads for more patience and understanding among western powers. Americans who are interested in the complex Chinese revolution will find in this book a lucid interpretation of changing China.

*Spain*, by Salvador de Madariaga. Scribner's. 507 pages. \$5.00. Once again the recent visitor to our shores, the League statesman and the Oxford lecturer, demonstrates his brilliance. If any country has been hard to "get," Spain has often seemed the one; outside of its general artistic contributions, the Prado, and bullfighting, it is a closed book to Americans. It need be so no longer. Of his native land and people and institutions this writer speaks intimately, but not without objectivity. To those American peace leaders who have come home to serve as press agents for the dictatorship, the closing section is especially recommended.

*A Study of the Student Homes of China*, by Ava B. Milam. Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University. 98 pages. \$1.50. The information contained in 1270 questionnaires answered by high school and college students, the analysis of the household accounts kept by 16 families, and her own observations and experiences in China give Dean Milam a wealth of material concerning the homes of Chinese students. She describes in detail the family organization, economic status, and standards of living of the families studied. Special attention is given to the place of children in the home, their number and care.



# CORRESPONDENCE

## We Are Rebuked—

I DESIRE to "cry aloud and spare not" in reference to your prohibition policy. Last month (December) you told us that you could not make up your mind upon the question of prohibition. This month (January) we are informed that the question is of no importance anyhow.

This last has been the great discovery in every age of those who are either unwilling or unable to face a moral issue. Prohibition is a moral issue. The abolition of the liquor traffic is as essential to human welfare as the abolition of slavery, the white slave traffic, the drug traffic, or war itself.

It gives me a sense not only of indignation but of grief to see THE WORLD TOMORROW wobbling on such an issue as this. And abolition means what it says—abolition, prohibition, outlawry, war to the bitter end and without compromise, fighting it out on this line if it takes a century.

New York City

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES,  
Minister, Community Church

## And Applauded

I RECEIVED and read this morning the January issue of your paper, and want to commend it in the most enthusiastic terms. Devere Allen's article on the situation in England is fine, and I thought the extract from Harry Ward's coming book was one of the best things I have read on Jesus for a long time.

But what I am writing you about especially is your editorial, entitled "More Important Than Prohibition." I agree with your thesis and policy completely and feel that your decision is fully justified by the state of affairs. I write as a prohibitionist; I am against alcohol, not only in respect to temperance but as a teetotaler; I am against the liquor traffic, believing that it is all wrong and no good, and I believe that the control of liquor is and will be a burning issue before the American people for a long while. I believe also that a great deal of constructive thought and courageous action will be required for its solving.

But I believe that our economic and international situation transcends that of prohibition, also that the greatest problems that face us arise from rampant individualism among nations and within our social order. It is these most of all that concern not only the well-being of individuals but the future of such civilization as we have.

Your paper has done the best Christian pioneering on these subjects that I know of, and I am glad to see that the present crisis in the prohibition question has not taken you from the place where you are so sorely needed.

New York City

CAMERON HALL,  
Minister, Christ Presbyterian Church

# ANNOUNCEMENTS

## 1931 Pilgrimage

IN the belief that understanding and appreciation of foreign peoples and strange lands come chiefly through contact with them, the Y.W.C.A. is arranging a European tour for the coming summer to be known as the 1931 Pilgrimage—An Adventure in Friendship. Under the leadership of a secretary who is an experienced traveler, visits will be made to England, France,

*The Prophet of San Francisco*, by Louis F. Post. *Vanguard*. 335 pages. \$3.00. Personal recollections of Henry George, his life and work, interestingly told.

*The Franco-Russian Alliance, 1890-1894*, by William L. Langer. *Harvard University Press*. 455 pages. \$4.50. The Dual Alliance placed in its European setting. An important volume.

*Germany in the Post-War World*, by Erich Koch-Weser. *Dorance*. 222 pages. \$2.00. The troubled history of Germany from 1919 to 1930 with surmises of the future.

*The Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti*, edited by Marion Denman Frankfurter and Gardner Jackson. *Vanguard*. 414 pages. 75 cents. This reprint from the original edition is very welcome. Aside from their value as records of a judicial lynching, they reveal the great spirit of Vanzetti.

*Modern Farming—Soviet Style*, by Anna Louise Strong. *International Pamphlets*, 799 Broadway, New York City. 32 pages. 10 cents. An enthusiastic account of collective farming in Russia by an American journalist who is known as a sympathetic interpreter of Bolshevism.

*Problems of Peace, Fourth Series of Lectures Delivered at the Geneva Institute of International Relations, August, 1929*. *Oxford University Press*. 224 pages. \$3.00. Addresses by M. K. Zilliacus, Henri Rolin, J. L. Brierly, Salvador de Madariaga, Delisle Burns, W. J. Hinton, Alec Wilson, G. A. Johnson, and E. J. Phelan on various aspects of the League, the I. L. O., the Monroe Doctrine, Economic Causes of War, Freedom of the Seas, etc.

*The Story of Bardoli*, by Mahadev Desai. *Navajivan Press*. 363 pages. \$1.50. *Order through the World Tomorrow*. The author, Gandhi's right-hand man, has written a reliable, detailed account of a significant victory for non-violence. In Bardoli, a section of the Bombay Presidency, the imposition of outrageously exorbitant taxes was resisted by mass non-coöperation, without hate or killing, and nothing that the British could do availed them anything of practical value. How the organization was perfected, the campaign carried on, the morale kept high, and ultimate victory obtained is well described, and the book is vastly aided for the Occidental reader by the chart and glossary.

*Cutting Ice*, by H. Runham Brown. 15 cents. *Order through the War Resisters' International*, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England. Pacifists and open-minded students of the various approaches toward the elimination of war have long needed a succinct presentation of what has been accomplished by the war resistance movement since its inception a decade ago. The spread of this method is something which has taken place not only in resolutions and vows, but in practice among many who couple a personal refusal to accept military service with a strong effort to bring about drastic social reform by non-violent crusading. In this book will be found data regarding the churchmen, the social reform organizations, and the great labor bodies which have come out openly in many countries for complete non-participation in warfare. The book deserves a wide American circulation.



Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Jugoslavia, and other countries. The cost of the tour, which begins June 19 and ends September 2, will be approximately \$750. Due to its affiliation with the International Student Service and the World's Student Christian Federation, the Y.W.C.A. will be able to offer members of the party interesting and valuable contacts with student leaders abroad. All students of American colleges, both graduate and undergraduate, as well as faculty members, and religious and student secretaries are eligible to join the group. Full details may be had by addressing Anne Wiggin, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

### L. I. P. A. Dinner

"THE Need for a New Political Party" will be discussed at a dinner to be given by the League for Independent Political Action at the Hotel Woodstock, New York City on Friday, February 6, at 6:30 P. M. Professor John Dewey, Chairman of the League's National Committee will speak on "The League in American Political Life." A symposium on the philosophy, program, and tactics of a new party will be conducted by Mauritz Hallgren, associate editor of *The Nation*; Bruce Bliven, editor of *The New Republic*; and Reinhold Niebuhr, editor of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*. Tickets may be obtained at \$1.25 per plate from the L. I. P. A. office, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City.

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### NOTICE

An index of the 1930 issues of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* has been prepared and will be sent to all libraries that have been receiving the magazine during the past year. Individual subscribers who wish copies may obtain them free upon request.

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## The Last Page

**T**ELL Al Smith that it's all right—he needn't have changed his pronunciation. The Italians and the Germans all pronounce it "raddio."

\* \* \* \* \*

**A**MONG the numerous advantages claimed for royalty I see none which appeals to me. But I am keen on one which is not claimed at all. The existence of several heirs to the Throne enables the British Government to stand officially on many sides of public questions—as many sides as there are royal sons. Few American presidents—at least before Coolidge and Hoover—could arise in Chicago, say, on one evening and make a big-navy talk, following it the next night in New York by a big-peace talk. But the Prince of Wales can stand up one evening and broadcast to the whole world the most beatific sentiments about the League of Nations, disarmament, and world peace, while only a night or two before it Prince George can—and does—address the Navy League, declaring with vehemence: "The Navy is connected with nearly every detail of our national and personal lives in these Islands and the Empire. If it had not existed we should not have existed; and when it does not exist we also shall cease to exist."

My personal hope is that this was a personal "we."

\* \* \* \* \*

**A**MERICANISMS of other lands. George Lansbury, First Commissioner of Works of His Majesty's Government: "There are no children in the world like London children." John Masefield, Poet Laureate: "Whenever I think of paradise I think of parts of this country."

\* \* \* \* \*

**I**T is easy to criticize with others, and at the moment I do not recall the arrangement of rooms at the American Museum of Natural History. But in London, at any rate, the sublime superstition of Anglo-Saxon superiority holds all scientists, so-called, in its grip. In the upper mammal gallery, there is a room designed to show the relationship of man to the lower orders. Around the walls are placed cases depicting with marvellous lifelike precision the features and heads and development of the colored peoples, all the way from the bushmen of Australia and the Melanesian tribesmen to the interior plains of Africa and the foothills of Asiatic rivers. And down the center mainly, though sometimes interspersed at the sides, are specimens of baboons, apes, chimpanzees, and gorillas. The effect, which in all seriousness is not the result of accident but of a species of intoxicated anthropology, is to heighten and perpetuate the delusion, from which all science has been freeing itself wherever true science exists, that the dark peoples are close to the simians in the process of evolution. Just at the entrance, as if placed where it could make a hasty get-away if occasion warranted, is a case showing the cranial structure of the European Caucasian. The Nordics, however, are reserved for a separate enclosure altogether, as benefits their lofty station in the scheme of the Creator. In truth, it is small wonder that the Briton who can be guilty of such arrant nonsense as this should be puzzled why the "backward" races of the earth do not fully appreciate his tutelage and dominance. "Look on me," says the Nordic imperialist, "and do your best. But let your best be not too rapid."

**A** NEW religious sect has arisen in Hungary but has been quickly driven underground if not suppressed. And I do not wonder that the authorities felt it too dangerous to allow it to continue. Unlike so much of religion the world around, the central creed of this denomination is based on the belief in laughter. "Be of good cheer" was an admonition taken literally; and in gales of mirth the votaries of the new religion held their ceremonies. I don't know whether any social implications of the creed were incorporated. Probably not. For if they had been, if a religion of laughter had ever been coupled with a social passion for change, before it no government of arbitrary mediocrities could for a moment stand.

The story goes of a young girl who was rebuked by her grandfather for whistling on the Sabbath. From whistling she went to making mudpies as an outlet for her energy, but that tame occupation, too, brought down stern judgment on her head. Finally, when dancing joyously about the yard, her duty-poisoned grandparent descended on her and shockingly inquired, "Mary, don't you realize that today is Sunday?" In desperation and sorrow, the child wandered out into the fields adjacent to her home and sat on a wall for a good cry. Before long a donkey pasturing there came up to her, and with the fraternal spirit native to his race stuck his nose up against her, nuzzling her as if in sympathy. She fell to stroking his nose, remarking, affectionately: "Nice old donkey, nice old boy, and *such* a long, long face. You must be a Christian, like Grandpa."

\* \* \* \* \*

**T**HE loss of life in recent storms around the British coast has been fearful, and Eccentricus could not but wonder why. Are the British poor swimmers? Is the coast worse than that of Maine or Brittany or Newfoundland? No. He knows the answer now. Undoubtedly these poor devils, when their ships capsized, had in their pockets a few British pennies. With thruppence in his jeans, a man in the water would be as helpless as an American with five dollars in coppers. Straight to the bottom it is, with no chance of life, for anyone who ventures abroad with such a millstone on his person.\*

\* \* \* \* \*

**T**HOSE who have to make Eccentricus less wordy usually do him very well, as our British friends would put it; but in the December issue they came an awful cropper. I was building up a series of contrasts to show how comical was this compared to that. The climax was to be the way in which the Speaker of the House of Commons stalks in with robe and wig and mace and procession, while once in the House, Ministers calmly sit down, loll back, and place their feet restfully upon the olden table whereon repose mace, books, papers, and ancient carved boxes of formal portent. And this is irrespective of their party. The Last Page that month got the Speaker in, but cut off the Ministers' feet entirely.

But who am I to find fault? This month I meant to contrast solemnity with humor, and I see now that I have left off all the—well, next time, next time!

ECCENTRICUS

\* I'm safe.



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# The Fight For Peace

by

Devere Allen

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## "Monumental" says Harry Elmer Barnes

THE adjective "monumental" is often applied to books somewhat carelessly and loosely, but it is most precisely and fairly descriptive of *The Fight for Peace*, by Devere Allen. It may be stated categorically that the book is the most comprehensive, uncompromising and diversely useful literary contribution ever made to the peace movement in any language.

The defeat of war is the great prerequisite of other forms of substantial human improvement. If this be so, then this book by Mr. Allen deserves to rank with the contributions of such writers as Henry George, the Webbs, Devine, Thomas Mott Osborne, Havelock Ellis and other leaders in the campaign for human progress and civic decency. Its theme is probably even more cogent and pressing than theirs.

One of the best chapters is that in which Mr. Allen puts the quietus on the perennial arguments that it is hopeless to try to end war because man is instinctively bellicose and that human nature will always defeat the pacifists. Accepting the point of view of modern psychology and sociology, he shows how human traits are chiefly determined by cultural surroundings. Man is as much a biological pacifist as a biological wildcat. When culture places as great a reward on peace as it has on war, mankind will become pacifist in its behavior.

It may be predicted that *The Fight For Peace* will be the chief arsenal for pacifist campaigns in North America during the next generation.

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